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## Kissinger hopeful in Israel—bargaining stage set

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Jerusalem  
Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger is "very hopeful for chances of progress" after his first two meetings here with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to discuss further steps toward a Middle East settlement.

This was the word from a senior Kissinger aide, who added that bargaining would not begin until after Dr. Kissinger visits Cairo for talks with Egyptian President Sadat Wednesday.

Before the Kissinger party reached Jerusalem Monday, a senior official who prefers not to be identified did some deep thinking aloud for the benefit of the accompanying press on the subject of the "intangibles" which are the big concern on this trip.

One of these, said the official, concerns peace and goodwill and the other, time. History is replete with evidence of the fragility of formal agreements for peace or other purposes. More durable in the opinion of the official is goodwill. It might therefore be more important for Israel to generate some of that than to get something in writing in return for further Israeli withdrawals in Egypt's favor in Sinai. The question is how to go about it.

### How much resistance?

As for time, the official said, Israel must consider how long they can go on resisting by force the pressure of 100 million or more Arabs. When is the right time to come to terms? A miscalculation, he said, could be fatal.

How could goodwill be generated from Mr. Sadat's point of view, the official asked, without damaging his standing in the Arab world, given the difficulty he has in making written commitments in the framework of some agreement? Now, on the other hand, could an unwritten commitment be made acceptable to an Israeli Government accountable to its parliament?

Some other points made by the senior official:

Dr. Kissinger will under no circumstances have any talks with the P.L.O., the Palestine Liberation Organization, on this trip. The Palestinians, who appear to be "sorting themselves out," will have to come around to the stand of the Arab states in recognizing the right of Israel to exist before an American Secretary of State can talk to them.

### New Syrian interest?

There are some signs that Syria, fearing that the Egyptians are getting ahead of them, might be getting interested in some further "step by step" development on the Golan Heights.

It is quite likely that Egypt is getting arms from Russia, but under old contracts, not new ones.

John Cooley cables from Beirut: George Habbash, leader of Palestinian radicals determined to wreck compromise peace efforts in the Mideast, says his organization "will do everything to provoke" a new Arab war with Israel.

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## Oil cartel cuts back to offset lower demand

### Will prices fall? U.S. officials are divided

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

As world demand for petroleum shrinks, some Arab nations — including Kuwait and Libya — are producing less oil today than they did at the height of the 1973 Arab embargo.

But opinions differ on whether this will break the cartel and bring down the price of oil.

"Taken as a whole," said a key U.S. official, "the 13 members of OPEC, plus Canada, are producing 24.1 percent less oil than their capacity would allow them to do."

Consuming countries, notably in Western Europe, officials say, are so successfully cutting back consumption that members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) cannot sell as much oil as they used to do.

### Sooner or later

"I understand markets," declared U.S. Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, "and, with 8 million barrels a day shut-in [oil not being produced], the ability of OPEC to keep cutting back production is limited."

Sooner or later, argue Mr. Simon and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, those OPEC states which need all the revenue they can get, notably Algeria, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Venezuela, may break the cartel by offering more oil at lower prices.

"I don't buy that argument," remarked another official, who declined to be named. "There is very powerful mortar between those OPEC bricks."

The extra money to be earned by pumping more oil at lower prices over the next five years, he believes, is much less than the interest and dividend income OPEC members can earn from profits held at the current high level, over a long period of time. This official sees little financial pressure on OPEC states to reduce prices, even if demand for oil continues to shrink.

### 9.6 million barrels a day

Actually, the total of Canadian and OPEC oil now shut-in amounts to 9.6 million barrels a day, according to current Federal Energy Administration (FEA) figures. Daily production is just above 30 million barrels a day, whereas "productive capacity," said an FEA source, "is 39.7 million barrels a day."

"Already," adds Mr. Simon, "some OPEC countries are granting their customers postponement of payment; in effect cutting the price of oil by 9 percent."

Complicating the oil-price problem is a weakening of the dollar, the major currency in which oil producing countries are paid. OPEC members are discussing whether or not to raise petroleum prices this year, to compensate for what they call the lower purchasing power of the dollar.

Meanwhile, these facts emerge:

— Japan and many European nations have reduced oil consumption notably.

— Because of this world conservation effort, OPEC members are reducing production markedly, ranging from Libya, which has 71 percent of its productive capacity shut-in, to Iran, 8 percent of whose capacity is not being used. Other OPEC members fall between these extremes.



Crude oil flows at Iraqi field

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Arab hand on spigot—turning down the flow

## Does U.S. have less oil, gas than believed?

By Monty Hoyt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
New estimates just released here indicate the U.S. does not have the amount of undiscovered oil and natural gas it has been counting on.

Giving the estimates in a just-released report, the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) says they mean that the U.S. faces "serious" shortages of oil, natural gas, and of some key minerals raw materials.

Thus the report casts grave doubts on the ability of the U.S. to achieve energy independence by the end of the decade.

The scientific investigation finds large shortcomings in forecasting reserves. It judges widely used government figures for

undiscovered recoverable oil and natural gas to be highly inflated.

These resources, both onshore and offshore in the U.S. and Alaska, are "considerably smaller than indicated by figures currently accepted within government circles" the study says.

### Estimate massively pared

While U.S. Geological Survey predictions have run as high as 455 billion barrels in undiscovered recoverable resources, the report puts the figure in the region of 113 billion barrels.

Likewise, NAS estimates undiscovered recoverable natural gas resources to be 530 trillion cubic feet, only one-half to one-fourth as much as some government predictions.

To fill present and future energy and material resource gaps, these top scientists flatly state, "efforts to increase supply

should be made concurrently with policy aimed at decreasing demand."

A strong "conservation ethic" adopted for all materials, to avoid waste and encourage more efficient uses, "should become a national religion," said Dr. Brian J. Skinner, chairman of the NAS Committee on Mineral Resources and the Environment.

Voluntary efforts now being taken by the government to curb gasoline and energy uses are not sufficient, Dr. Skinner stated.

The NAS report concludes that it is unlikely that domestic oil and natural gas production can be increased. Onshore production is declining while future supplies offshore and in Alaska will be more difficult to find and produce, it says.

Moreover, shortages of other essential materials and minerals can be expected.

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## Ford: Viet trip for legislators

By Robert P. Hey  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
In an apparent effort to gain congressional approval for additional military aid to Vietnam and Cambodia, the Ford administration is quietly organizing a trip for 20 members of Congress to Vietnam, and probably Cambodia.

Several congressional sources view the trip, which is proposed by the White House, as a last-ditch effort to gain approval from a highly reluctant Congress of more military aid to the two Indo-China nations.

This newspaper has learned the contingent is to be composed of 10 members from each house, and 10 from each party. Several congressional sources confirm the trip is to be of seven or eight days' duration, and that participants may go anywhere they wish provided it is physically safe. No departure date has been decided yet, but it probably will be the end of next week, reports indicate.

### Doubtful vote

Key congressional sources say that if a vote were taken today both houses of Congress would reject the President's requests for an extra \$300 million for South Vietnam this year, and nearly that much additional for Cambodia.

Many congressional sources, at this writing, were unaware of the administration plan for the bipartisan congressional trip to Vietnam. But those who do know of it, expect that upon its return there will be a major effort by the administration and sympathetic members of Congress to work out a compromise aid package to both nations.

"If they can just persuade a few moderate members," says one key source, it could result in Senate approval at least of a reduced level of aid — "say in the neighborhood of \$100 million" each to South Vietnam and Cambodia. Even so, the vote would be close.

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## British Conservatives like her crisp, decisive views Thatcher's task: bridge party rifts

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's victory in the race for the leadership of the opposition Conservative Party is a stunning defeat for the "magic circle" that has run the party for generations.

Until a couple of months ago, no one expected the golden-haired Mrs. Thatcher to run, much less to win against such formidable rivals as Edward Heath, party leader for 10 years and Prime Minister for four, and William Whitelaw, Mr. Heath's loyal lieutenant.

But Mrs. Thatcher ousted Mr. Heath on the first ballot a week ago, and on Tuesday she swept to victory on the second ballot against four opponents, scoring 146 votes, seven more than the 139 needed to win, Mr.

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AP photo

Mrs. Thatcher: potential prime minister

## Pentagon budget defense: Soviets could overtake U.S.

By Guy Halverson  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
The Pentagon is taking the offensive, in an effort to sell its new \$104.7 billion appropriation request to Congress.

The long-range danger, the Pentagon argues in its annual defense review, is that the U.S. could slip into "second place" militarily by the end of the decade unless Congress funds needed weapons programs.

These arguments are greeted with some skepticism by a new Congress more disposed to less military spending in favor of greater welfare funding.

The one-volume report, an analysis of the fiscal 1976 Pentagon budget plans and needs, pinpoints Pentagon concern over the scope and growing

complexity of the Soviet defense industry.

Particularly troubling to Pentagon planners: huge Soviet increases in nuclear weapons and technology the past year.

### Underlined by the report:

• What the Pentagon perceives as U.S. weaknesses in conventional arms as a result of Vietnam and the Israeli resupply effort after the October, 1973, Mideast war.

• The huge twofold "hidden" Pentagon financial burden — hefty increases in the costs of weapons programs because of inflation, coupled with high manpower costs to maintain the volunteer Army. Some 55 percent of all Pentagon moneys now go for personnel costs, putting even tighter constraints on moneys available for new weapons systems.

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## Ford tells farmers: 'I will help'

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Topeka, Kan.  
The President's mission here, as in Texas the day before, is emerging as an effort to smooth down ruffled feathers.

Here, before a joint meeting of the Kansas State Legislature, the President disclosed that he was shaping a program to compensate the farmer for the higher fuel prices that would come from his economic-energy proposals.

"I recognize," he said, "that the farmer may well be concerned about the immediate impact my energy program will have... that our conservation taxes on foreign oil will raise his energy costs."

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## Oil strikes fan Brazilian optimism

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Campos, Brazil  
Discovery of vast offshore oil deposits near here have brightened hopes that Brazil will soon become self-sufficient in petroleum.

In fact, the successful drilling of wells on the continental shelf has brought in a gusher of oil euphoria throughout Brazil.

Petrobras, the state oil monopoly, is trying to downplay the significance of the discovery until all the tests are completed by mid-1976. But many oil specialists in Brazil say that the new find is large enough to provide for all of Brazil's petroleum needs by 1980.

### Little doubt

Whether this optimism will be borne out by all the exploration now under way here at Campos, 250 miles north of Rio de Janeiro, there seems little doubt that the discovery is a major one and will substantially move Brazil away from its heavy dependence on high-cost imported oil. Mario Henrique Simonsen, the finance minister, is perhaps the most optimistic government official on the oil issue — maybe because he watched over an economy in 1974 that suffered a 35 percent inflation rate due in large measure to the soaring price of imported petroleum.

In 1974, it cost Brazil \$3 billion for oil, up three times what the country paid in 1973. This big outlay weighed heavily in 1974's \$5 billion trade deficit.

### Output projected

Mr. Simonsen is somewhat euphoric about the new oil finds. He says flatly: "Brazil will reach a level of 1 million barrels a day with the discovery on the continental shelf."

Newspapers in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo are full of reports about oil and the prospects of self-sufficiency in petroleum.

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## First in 50 years—if they come off Free elections for Portugal?

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

A date has been fixed at last for elections in Portugal—April 8. If they are held as planned, they will be the first free elections in the country for half a century.

But whether this means Portugal is safely on the road back to parliamentary democracy remains to be seen. The biggest questions at the moment are:

• Will the Communists either try to prevent the elections being held or use intimidation and violence to prevent a truly free vote on April 8?

• Will the Armed Forces Movement (AFM), which engineered last April's coup against the authoritarian right-wing Caetano regime, be content to retire to barracks and let civilians take over full responsibility for running Portugal?

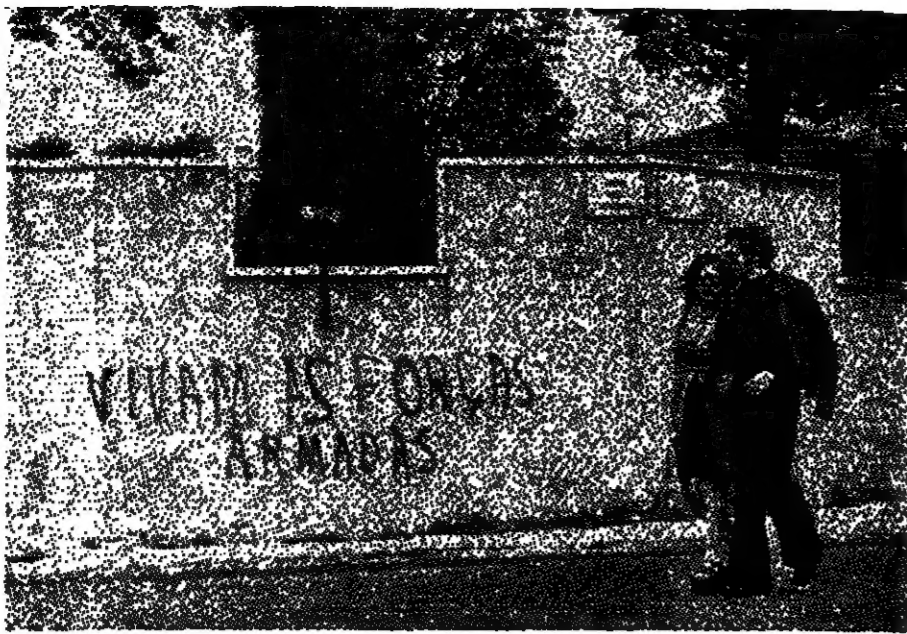
### Communist vote small

Early this year, opinion polls showed that the Communists (whose leader, Alvaro Cunhal, holds one of the civilian seats in the Cabinet) would probably get no more than 10 percent of the vote in any country-wide election.

Since then the Communists have been trying either to get elections postponed or to maneuver their men into key positions so that they had a grip on government from within regardless of what might be the will of most Portuguese.

To this end, the Communists have had the support of some AFM members, particularly of two in the Cabinet: the Prime Minister, Brig. Vasco Gonçalves, and the Labor Minister, Capt. Costa Martins.

Communist maneuvering, however, has stiffened the opposition to it within the Cabinet from the two other political parties holding ministerial offices: the Socialists (PS) led by



By a staff photographer

### AFM slogan on wall in Lisbon

Mario Soares, and the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) led by Francisco Sa Carneiro. (Both these parties are moderate left-of-center and believe in parliamentary democracy.)

Two right-of-center parties outside the government—Democratic Center Party (CDS) and the much smaller Christian Democratic Party (CDP)—have both recently had their national conventions closed down by extreme left-wing violence which the military either could not or would not prevent. Some observers wonder whether the PPD and then the PS might be the next targets for similar extreme left-wing intimidation and violence.

Just how the AFM as a whole views the undemocratic behavior of left-wing extremists is in question. During the latter part of 1974, the militants sympathetic to the Communists were in the ascendant and secured the ousting of the still widely respected

Gen. Antonio de Spínola as the AFM's figurehead president. General de Spínola's own politics are conservative but he was an outspoken critic of the Caetano regime before it was ousted.

Brigadier Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, commander of the military units responsible for internal security, caused a raising of eyebrows recently when he said: "The party gaining most votes in elections will not necessarily represent the wishes of the people." A member of the AFM coordinating committee, Capt. Vasco Lourenço, has also spoken about the possible need for "a second revolution."

April's elections are for a constituent assembly to draft a Constitution under which parliamentary elections would be held before the end of the year. Many wonder whether the AFM radicals or the Communists will try to upset this schedule and these arrangements—to the detriment of long-awaited parliamentary democracy in Portugal.

## Solzhenitsyn raps Western morals

By Paul Wahl  
Written for  
The Christian Science Monitor

Recent Soviet dissidents abroad have begun to form groups, some of which preach an anti-communism that is as dogmatic as communism itself.

The most articulate of these has formed around the new "social, political, and religious" quarterly *Continents* which is published in Russian, English, French, German, and Italian. The magazine, which is edited by the novelist Vladimir Maximov, calls itself the "organ of spiritual thought of Eastern Europe."

The journal represents a group of expatriate intellectuals who see the world's salvation in Russia and the solution to its problems through conservative, authoritarian policy. One of *Continents*' main contributors and chief backers is the Nobel prize-winning novelist Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn.

One is reminded of the great Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky likening Europe to a cemetery as one reads Mr. Solzhenitsyn's attack on the very foundations of Western civilization in *Continents*.

### Soviet system defended

Castigating the West's "absence of fundamental morals and unlimited freedom of discussion," Mr. Solzhenitsyn, unexpectedly defends the Soviet system.

"Our system is not frightening because it is antidemocratic, authoritarian, and based on physical constraint," Mr. Solzhenitsyn writes. "These are conditions under which man can survive without imperiling his spirituality."

"The West boasts that it enjoys all liberties, including intellectual liberty. Did this save the (the West)?" asks the magazine in an editorial.

The Jewish cyberneticist Mikhail S. Agursky goes even further and attacks the right of workers to strike "which can be used by gangsters and

has become a main cause of inflation."

"One of the worst shortcomings of democratic societies is the absence of controlled information for the masses. . . . In the future, censorship will become absolutely necessary."

Only Christianity, as the dissidents understand it—many of whom are not even acquainted with the tenets of the Orthodox Church—"can lead mankind to liberation through repentance and sacrifice."

"The century of enlightenment has given the world only [the radicalism of] the French Revolution and the guillotine," writes the exiled poet and philosopher Korsakov.

Mathematician Igor D. Shafarevich, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences and of Professor Sakharov's Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, writes:

### Historic mission outlined

"Today we can tell the world what no one else is able to tell it. In this I see the historic mission of the nations living in the Soviet Union. . . . The road to the resurrection of Russia is the only one by which mankind can find a way out of the impasse. It is our task to go ahead and show it ('to mankind'). Dr. Shafarevich is still in the U.S.S.R."

The cover of *Continents* carries pictures of Mr. Solzhenitsyn side by side with Hungarian anti-Communist Josef Cardinal Mindszenty who for 15 years lived in asylum in the American Embassy following the 1956 revolution.

Among the contributors are the literary critic and novelist Andrei Sinyavsky, the poet poet Joseph Brodsky, and the novelist Maximov.

The noted French Slavist Jean Cathala rightly points to the fact that these emigre writers were formed by a wholly totalitarian regime "which linked man's existence, action, and thought in a single sacramentalism." Their thinking in a sense is communism turned inside out.

## Soviets go all out to recall end of WW II

By Elizabeth Pond  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

• "The victory over fascism is the unending heroic glory in the chronicles of our fatherland," proclaimed an editorial in this week's *Pravda*.

• "This country is anniversary mad. It's a substitute for life," commented a jaded foreign diplomat in Moscow.

Whichever way one looks at it, the 30th anniversary of the end of World War II is the current big campaign in the Soviet Union—and it will remain so for the next three months. It has rated a long exhortative statement by the Communist Party Central Committee. And it has even pushed the month-long campaign to boost production from the front pages of the major newspapers.

### A chord of remembrance

Soviet youths may shrug off the new campaign as one more party sermon. But the anniversary still touches a chord in older people who experienced the war's toll of 20 million lives, Nazi occupation of vast areas of European Russia and the Ukraine, and starvation siege of Leningrad for 900 days.

Basically, the campaign is a repeat of the 25th anniversary celebrations five years ago. It entails production of Army and studio films about "the Great Patriotic War," festivals of war art and songs, and dedicatory meetings in factories, farms, and institutes. Though this has not been announced, Western observers assume the program will culminate in a big military parade May 9, the date celebrated by the Soviets as the end of the war in Europe.

### 'Decisive role'

The vision of history to be set forth in the intensive anniversary propaganda is that the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party, "played the decisive role in defeating Hitler's Germany and militaristic Japan," the Central Committee anniversary statement says.

Moscow's Western allies are referred to favorably, but their role in winning the war is not specified. Nor is the fact mentioned that the Soviet Union participated in only the last week of the war with Japan. The military newspaper *Red Star* makes a point, in fact, to attack Western "falsifiers" who do not credit the Soviet Union with the decisive role in the victory.

### Territory expanded

The official recollection of the war's end is bitter-sweet, for despite its suffering, the Soviet Union vastly expanded its territory and influence in the wake of Hitler's defeat. Stalin annexed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and parts of Poland and Romania, and he acquired a buffer zone of Eastern European satellites.

The lessons of the war, Moscow editorials are saying, show that the Soviet Union must maintain its military preparedness. The Nazis represented "world imperialism's striking force against socialism," *Izvestia* commented. It added, "One should not forget that the nature of imperialism has not changed, and forces of reaction and aggression have not laid down their arms and are trying to prevent positive changes in international relations." As proof of this *Izvestia* noted that "military budgets of imperialist states are growing."

Despite the militant language, foreign observers do not read into this emphasis any retreat from détente. The Central Committee statement approved the wartime alliance and saw it as an example of coexistence of states with different social systems. It repeated the standard recent formulation in speaking positively of world changes that are making the process of détente irreversible.

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## Canada-U.S. oil swap proposed in cutback

By Monty Hoyt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Canada's current policy to phase out oil exports to the United States to meet its own future needs is causing problems in this country. As a result, four congressmen have proposed an "oil swap" with Canada.

The swap would exchange surplus U.S. oil from the Alaskan North Slope for continued flows of Canadian oil to some 35 U.S. refineries from Montana to New York State. The refineries are wholly or partially dependent on oil from Canada.

The Congressmen have come up with the plan to blunt the new Canadian oil policy to phase out Canadian supplies by 1983. Canada's object is to cut down on imported oil from the Caribbean, currently shipped in to compensate for the Canadian oil now diverted south of the border.

### Favorable mien

It is believed the Canadian Government looks favorably upon such a "swap" but many details remain to be worked out.

[Oil from Alaska's North Slope field is expected to begin flowing by late 1977, reaching full output of 3 million barrels daily by 1983. A surplus is now estimated of some 700,000 barrels a day above the needs of the U.S. West Coast market.]

[At the same time, Canada's new phase-out policy, which began Jan. 1 of this year, is now holding oil exports to 800,000 barrels daily. This flow will be cut in half by 1977 and again in 1979 until it is finally shut off completely by 1983. In comparison, Canadian oil exports to the U.S. averaged 1.3 million barrels daily in 1973.]

The "swap," proposed by Reps. John B. Anderson (R) of Illinois, Philip E. Ruppe (R) of Michigan, Bill

Frenzel (R) of Minnesota, and Bob Bergland (D) of Minnesota, also calls for reversing the oil flow in a vital pipeline from Edmonton to Vancouver, Canada, thus enabling Alaskan oil landed at Vancouver on the west coast to be piped through interconnecting systems to refineries in the Midwest and all the way to western New York and Pennsylvania.

As proposed, after 1977 some 180,000 barrels of surplus Alaskan oil would be given to Vancouver refineries now supplied by Canadian oil through the Trans-Mountain Pipeline originating in Edmonton.

The remaining Alaskan surplus would be piped in a reverse direction through Trans-Mountain, linking up at Edmonton with the major Interprovincial-Lakehead Pipeline which now supplies Canadian and Northern U.S. refineries. Completing the exchange, 180,000 barrels of Canadian oil produced in the prairie provinces would be added to the flow heading to U.S. markets.

### Drawbacks identified

Even the oil swap, however, has some major drawbacks: Alaskan oil is not likely to reach surplus quantities until 1980 or later; the Trans-Mountain Pipeline would have to be shut down for months while new pumping stations were being constructed to permit the oil to flow uphill from west to east; and increased tanker traffic in the Puget Sound area, estimated to eventually reach 280 unloadings a year, may cause grave environmental risks from oil spills.

Canadian officials, in the meantime, say they will "be happy to discuss the proposals" but call it "fairly simplistic to infer that a swap is an easy thing to do."

## \*Kissinger encouraged in Israel

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Dr. Habbash, secretary-general of the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) which heads the so-called "rejection front" of guerrilla groups opposing PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's moderate political leadership, adds that "Israel might win another quick war . . . but the result of a long war will be favorable to us."

### Mission discussed

Dr. Habbash spoke in a long interview with Edouard Saab, editor of the Beirut daily *L'Orient-Le Jour*, as members of the 46-man central council of the PLO met in Damascus to

discuss U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger's new Mideast peace mission and its implications for the Palestinians.

There are persistent indications here that the Soviet Union is pressing Mr. Arafat's PLO leadership to "go political" by forming a provisional Palestinian government-in-exile as soon as possible. Such a body would be able to represent the Palestinian Arabs at the Geneva peace conference, when and if that conference reopens, as the Soviets and some Arabs wish.

According to sources in Kuwait, Dr. Kissinger is expected to follow his peacemaking trip to Israel and Arab

states this week with another mission next month to the Arab oil-producing Persian Gulf states.

In his March trip Dr. Kissinger would be mainly interested in gathering information on oil, energy, and financial problems, according to Kuwait radio. There has been no confirmation of Dr. Kissinger's Gulf trip so far from U.S. sources here.

Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Doha, Qatar, and Oman governments have meanwhile received an invitation from Iraq to hold a Gulf summit meeting. Beirut newspapers reported Monday.

The main purpose would be discussion of ending inter-Gulf conflicts "so as to be prepared to meet the threat of foreign intervention," sources close to the Iraqi Embassy here say.

Iraq is said to be especially concerned about the recent start of U.S. military aid to Sultan Qabus, the Oman ruler, in his war against guerrillas in Oman's southern Dhofar province.

## \*Pentagon in fund appeal

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The mood in the report is one of urgency and apprehension that the new Congress will "chop back" the new budget requests without what the Pentagon feels is a careful look at U.S. long-range defense needs.

The Pentagon is asking Congress for \$22.8 billion for fiscal year 1976—\$2 billion more than the current budget.

Overall, counting funds for defense programs over the next five years, the Pentagon is asking for \$104.7 billion. Beyond funding just to "hold the line" against inflation, the military wants money for new weapons over the next five years—mainly for U.S. conventional forces.

Many members of Congress have said they will not accept those figures, and indicated disbelief at the Pentagon's case for the increases, particularly military concern over long-range Soviet strategic capabilities.

### Aging equipment

"In [fiscal year] 1984," Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger says in the report, "before the war in Vietnam had resulted in a major impact on the U.S. defense establishment, our military and civilian personnel

totalled over 3.7 million people. For [fiscal year] 1976 we plan fewer than 3.1 million people, even though the world has become only a slightly safer place."

"For the first time since 1959 . . . our active fleet will consist of fewer than 500 ships—our ships, aircraft, and ground combat vehicles are aging. . . . The readiness of some forces has suffered as budgetary constraints have grown more severe."

The Pentagon argues that in U.S. dollars the Soviet defense budget now is pegged at \$117 billion for next year. But that figure, unlike other Pentagon cost comparisons, is faulted by many congressional liberals, and even some private defense analysts give vast differences in the types and quality of weapons systems developed by the two superpowers.

What does seem beyond dispute is that since the Vietnam period, the Soviets have opted for an expanding military establishment.

Three weapons programs, in particular, are being given close scrutiny by Congress:

—The B-1 manned bomber program, where costs now are soaring toward \$83 million per plane.

—The Trident submarine program, where the vessels now cost more than \$1.5 billion each.

## \*Oil strikes fan Brazilian optimism

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Jornal da Tarde in Rio wrote: "The continuing flow of news about the deposits drilled in the continental platform of Campos is altering the mood of Brazilian and foreign businessmen."

### Stock shoots up

Petrobras stock shot up 25 percent on the Rio de Janeiro stock exchange in the first few days after announcement late last year of the Campos discovery and remains there.

Together with renewed speculation of sizable oil deposits near the Peruvian border, "Brazil now seems ready to solve its energy problems," a

United States banker in Sao Paulo said.

Campos is a sleepy town along the Atlantic Coast north of Rio de Janeiro. Oil drilling near here was begun 5 years ago and first proved unrewarding. Newer efforts in the past year yielded better results, and the first real hint at what lies under the continental shelf off the coast came with the oil strike in late October.

Since then, half a dozen other wells have proved equally promising, and more are being drilled. The petroleum is high-grade—and the expectation here is that it is of such quality that one barrel of this new oil will equal about two barrels of the average oil on the world market.

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## View from Johannesburg

## Apartheid key to South Africa

By Henry S. Hayward  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg  
When all the good things have been said about South Africa, and there are quite a few these days, any impartial assessment inevitably comes back to the thorny problem of apartheid.

Separate development for South Africa's black and white races clearly has worked well for the whites, who are relatively prosperous and extremely privileged under the Nationalist government's system.

Equally clearly, some 16 million blacks do not like it. Except in the rarest instances, they are implacably against it.

Nor are all whites pleased with the situation, much as it favors them. Concern exists in South Africa today about the country's image in the world and even about its future safety from attack now that the Portuguese colonial buffers are going independent under black control.

## Exclusion stings

It hurts to be voted out of United Nations General Assembly deliberations because of domestic racial policy. It stings to be asked to give up Namibia (South-West Africa) for the same reason.

As United party foreign affairs spokesman Japie Basson reminded Prime Minister John Vorster in Parliament recently, it has been 26 years since a South African prime minister has appeared at the United Nations or any international conferences.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, a Progressive party spokesman, put it bluntly, too. "The whole question of civil rights in South Africa is a disaster area overseas," she told Mr. Vorster and his National party cohorts in the Assembly now meeting in Cape Town.

Isolation, hostility, and criticism are the prices South Africa pays for treating the black man separately and, despite denials, unequally. Yet this is a price the Vorster government and its white supporters so far are willing to pay.

## Complacency difficult

The dark side of apartheid comes to the surface often enough, however, to make complacency difficult. The hard face shows itself in acts small and large that seldom escape attention from a diligent, liberal, English-language press.

In a recent story this correspondent listed the encouraging changes taking place here. But there are also some less pleasant manifestations one also encounters.

The Terrorism Act gives the government sweeping powers to arrest and detain persons for alleged offenses. After what was said to be a pro-Frelimo rally in Durban last September an estimated 28 black people were detained. On Jan. 21, 12 men appeared before a magistrate in Pretoria. A further 28 were believed in custody, although authorities refused to disclose the exact number.

A defense attorney claimed he received no official advance advice when his clients would appear in court. Two hours before the appearance he was told it would be that afternoon.

On Feb. 7, date for trial of the 12 was set for March 12. Counsel for the defense protested without success that the time was unreasonably short.

The editor of a Durban newspaper was acquitted of violating the Riotous Assemblies Act when his

paper printed a story referring to the banned pro-Frelimo rally. His senior assistant however was found guilty and fined a token sum.

Statistics in the latest survey of the Institute of Race Relations indicate that 10,500,000 black Africans have been arrested and prosecuted for pass law violations in the 26 years between 1948 when the National Party came to power and 1973.

## Everyone affected

All Africans over 16, men and women, must carry the so-called pass books at all times. If they are without them, or in an unauthorized location, they are subject to arrest and penalty.

The report showed that pass law prosecutions for the year ending June, 1973, declined by about 180,000 over the previous year, but that more than one-half million blacks still were prosecuted in a single year.

The reduction is attributed to government aid centers which try to prevent prosecution of "technical offenders" of the pass law. Black leaders, meanwhile, have emphasized to Mr. Vorster that abolition of pass laws and influx controls into cities is one of their first priorities.

The Federal Theological Seminary at Alice has been expropriated by the government, despite pleas for a reprieve.

The seminary has been training black ministers since 1963, when South African legislation decreed they could no longer attend white seminaries. Now the government maintains this particular land is needed for Fort Hare University, which ironically is for black students.

Seminary spokesmen claim plenty of other land is available for the university, but Minister of Bantu Administration C. Botha disagrees. He said the seminary had been told in 1971 to look for a new site.

The university has offered to rent temporarily part of the expropriated property back to the seminary. But some observers are convinced that the multiracial nature of the seminary is the real stumbling block.

## Why Shah builds vast military power

## Iran leader's quest for global security

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tehran, Iran  
Landing or taking off from civil airports here or at Shiraz, passengers may catch sight of a dozen or so of Iran's F-4 Phantoms, lined up, casually, for all the world to see.

This omission of the usual Middle Eastern secrecy is one of Iran's ways of asserting its new strength, the military power by which it intends to protect its new wealth and its stake in the future.

The one thing most Americans have heard about Iran's military force is the price tag of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi's purchases in the United States — \$4 billion worth during each of the past two years according to some accounts. Between \$5 billion and \$6 billion according to others.

## Wealth of weaponry

In any case, quantitatively even more than the United States ships to Israel, and enough to supply Iran with eight squadrons of F-4s and 100 F-5s, plus 80 of those superexpensive F-14As.

The Shah had to bail out Grumman Aircraft Corporation with an \$80 million loan to maintain deliveries.

In addition, the Shah is interested in the new low-priced light-weight F-16s and 17s, and is toying with an order for 300. He has been getting Phoenix and Maverick missiles, TOW-wire guided antitank missiles, and most other newly developed weapons, along with 500 U.S. military experts to teach their use. Also Spruance class destroyers and Huey and Cobra helicopters.

What Americans have not heard is why the Shah needs, or thinks he needs, this costly arsenal.

Apart from the requirements of national prestige, the Shah believes that, while Europe and the United



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

## Some of the Shah's newly purchased arsenal goes on parade

States may be enjoying a period of détente with the Soviet Union, he is more than ever threatened.

The threat is not direct since the Soviet Union maintains officially cordial diplomatic and trade relations with Iran. It is felt indirectly through Iraq and Afghanistan, Iran's neighbors to the west and east, through pressure on Persian Gulf sheikhdoms, and by way of political and ethnic subversion, in Iran and elsewhere.

Iraq is, after Syria, the Soviet Union's principal Middle East bastion, its gateway, in a manner of speaking, to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

The Shah, therefore, attributes Iraq's truculent refusal to settle border problems to the Soviet Union, and he steadfastly supports the dissident Kurds fighting in Iraq's northern mountains against Iraqi efforts to suppress them. Lately he has allowed Iranian artillerymen to accompany some heavy guns sent over the border to help the Kurds.

## Aid for Kuwait

The Shah also made offers of assistance to Kuwait when that rich but small sheikhdom came under Iraqi military pressure.

At the other end of the gulf, the Shah has for the past year maintained a force of 3,000 men in Dhofar, the southernmost province of Oman, which is threatened by insurgents operating out of the People's Republic of South Yemen, with Soviet arms.

And the sheikhdoms between these northern and southern extremities have been given to understand that the Shah is their guarantor, that he will not tolerate any coup or revolution that would bring to power any

semblance of the Baathist regime of Baghdad or the Marxist-Leninist Radicals of Aden.

Part of the means for enforcing Iranian paramountcy is based on the formerly Arab islands of Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tunbs, occupied in 1971, and an Iranian law that will lay claim to the right to inspect shipping passing through the Strait of Hormuz for possible pollution of gulf waters.

## Assassinations, plots

The subversion threat has taken the form in the last few years of several assassinations, including that of an American colonel, threats to murder the Shah and kidnap his family, and occasional guerrilla-style operations in Khuzistan, which the Iraqi's persist in calling Arabistan, because one-third of its inhabitants are Arabs, and in Baluchistan which overlaps into Pakistan.

The Shah worries also about Soviet encouragement for the aspirations of the Pushtus of Afghanistan who claim that the North West province of Pakistan should be joined to Afghanistan because it is inhabited by Pushtus.

Not that the Shah cares much about the Pushtus one way or the other. His concern is that if Afghanistan were incited by the Soviet Union to solve this problem by force, it would bring

India into the conflict in support of Afghanistan and oblige Iran to go to war with India in support of Pakistan.

Almost as firmly as in the case of the gulf sheikhdoms, therefore, the Shah has made himself a guarantor of the integrity of Pakistan.

It may be understood from the foregoing that the Shah is worried not only about the MIG-23s and 25s that have been overflying his territory from Iraq, and the most recent delivery of Scud long-range Soviet missiles to Iraq, but about India's Soviet-sponsored arms buildup.

He has been to Delhi, and entertained Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in Tehran, and he has made economic transactions favorable to India, in hopes of weakening India's pro-Soviet orientation and avoiding its granting the Russians naval facilities in the Andaman Islands or elsewhere.

## Wider ranging concerns

The Shah's military concerns reach even farther, however. According to Iranian officers, he considers that Iran should play a role in protecting west-bound oil shipping beyond the Strait of Hormuz as far as the 10th parallel, at a point north of the Malagasy Republic, and would like to do the same for shipping bound eastward, were it not for India's objections.

## Airline kitchens are held to high health standards

By George Moneyham  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
Stringent precautions are taken to prevent the kind of airline food contamination that occurred aboard an airline flight last week. So say managers of kitchens that prepare food served aboard airline flights in the U.S.

Airline officials say such incidents are rare, although conceding that isolated cases have been reported but do not normally attract the public attention that has focused on the Japan Airlines incident in which 144 passengers were affected.

Nearly all airlines rely on outside catering firms to prepare their in-flight meals. United Airlines is the only U.S. airline that maintains its own kitchens and staff. Robert E. McArdle, manager of food services for United at Newark airport, says his kitchen — one of 17 maintained by United — is inspected regularly by the U.S. Public Health Service, as well as by inspectors from the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

It is not unusual, says Mr. McArdle, for United's kitchens to undergo four separate inspections a month from federal, state, county, and local health departments — all of which, he

indicated, are unannounced inspections.

The fact that such inspections are made by different government agencies prevents any attempts at collusion or bribery and keeps kitchen staffs from becoming too lax about sanitary conditions, airline officials stress.

Herman Stanley, assistant vice-president of dining services for Delta Airlines in Atlanta, remarked, "The Food and Drug Administration regulations on sanitation for airlines are far more rigid than those of an ordinary restaurant." Pointing out that Delta relies on several caterers for its meals, Mr. Stanley says, the airline writes the specifications and standards for meals and keeps a close watch on the catering operations.

Among the strict sanitary regulations imposed on airline kitchens is one that requires all food handlers to wear cellophane gloves. Inspectors insist that no kitchen help wear bandages. Hot foods are required to be kept at 140 degrees and cold foods at 45 degrees when leaving the kitchen.

Referring to the strict government regulation under which they operate, kitchen managers say it is not unusual for an airline kitchen to be closed down for failure to meet sanitation standards.

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EDITED BY BERTRAM B. JOHANSSON

# Inside the news—briefly

WITH ANALYSIS  
FROM MONITOR CORRESPONDENTS  
AROUND THE WORLD

## Ford to free \$2 billion in U.S. highway funds

Topeka, Kan.

President Ford announced Tuesday he is releasing up to \$2 billion of impounded interstate highway funds as an antirecession move.

Mr. Ford told a joint session of the Kansas Legislature he was acting at the urging of many governors who have told him that "owing to softness in the construction industry" they can now undertake highway projects at lower costs.

## India, Kashmir agree to return of Sheikh

New Delhi

Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, the Lion of Kashmir, will return to power in his divided Himalayan homeland under a recently concluded agreement between himself and the Indian Government, authoritative sources say here.

The agreement, expected to be announced in the Indian Parliament



Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah

next week, establishes the Sheikh as prime minister of the three-fifths of Kashmir controlled by India, the sources said.

The pact ending the Sheikh's 22-year estrangement with the Indian Government follows two years of negotiations between representatives of the Sheikh and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The Sheikh, who served as prime minister of Kashmir from 1948 to 1953, when he was deposed by Mrs. Gandhi's father, Jawaharlal Nehru, spent more than a decade in jail or under house arrest on charges of fomenting a secession in Kashmir. During negotiations the Sheikh dropped his demand that the future of

Kashmir be decided by a plebiscite to determine whether its inhabitants want to join India or Pakistan or be independent.

## 'Hot line' planned for Ulster truce

London

Plans to safeguard the new Northern Ireland cease-fire through day and night "hot line" contacts between the underground Irish Republican Army (IRA) and British officials were announced in Parliament by Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees.

Incidents which could wreck the brittle truce, put into effect by the IRA Monday night, will be immediately reported to incident-monitoring centers, and both sides will work together to defuse dangerous situations.

A brutal response to the cease-fire in Northern Ireland came Monday night from extreme Protestants who sprayed a Roman Catholic tavern with machine-gun fire. Two men died, bringing to six the number of Catholics killed in sectarian murders since Saturday. A Protestant milkman was shot to death Tuesday.

## Labor negotiations: success and failure

New York

Score one success and one grim failure in tough labor-management contract negotiations this week.

On the West Coast, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Pacific Maritime Association wound up a month of almost continuous bargaining with a settlement — more than four months early — that virtually assures dock peace along the Pacific through July, 1977.

But in St. Louis first, and then in California, aerospace workers struck when bargaining between the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and McDonnell Douglas failed to reach a contract settlement by a Feb. 3 deadline. Some 17,500 walked out and another 12,000 under United Automobile Workers (UAW) contracts are reported considering joining the strike, writes Monitor labor correspondent Ed Townsend.

## British Queen may get a raise

London

Queen Elizabeth of England may get a pay raise. Prime Minister Harold Wilson was expected to recommend an increase of



Queen Elizabeth

£ 400,000 (\$920,000) for the Queen. Such an increase would make the Queen's income nearly £1.5 million (\$3.45 million) annually. It is believed the extra £400,000 would cover inflation and increases in the salaries of the Queen's staff.

## Eritrean rebels claim jet shot down

Asmara, Ethiopia

Eritrean insurgents claimed to have shot down one of Ethiopia's dozen U.S.-built F-5A jet fighters during raids Tuesday on rebel positions north of Asmara, diplomatic sources said.

If confirmed, it would be the third F-5A lost by action of the Eritrean Liberation Front — ELF.

Diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, said government troops beat back a determined rebel attempt Monday night to take Asmara's airport and cut the besieged northern provincial capital's only remaining supply route.

No casualty figures were available from the latest fighting. Diplomatic sources estimate a total of 4,000 persons dead, wounded, or missing since the 13-year guerrilla campaign for Eritrean independence expanded into full-scale war 12 days ago.

Meanwhile in Khartoum, Sudan, President Jaafar el-Nimeiry said Monday night his proposals for a peace conference in Khartoum on the conflict in neighboring Ethiopia had met with a positive response from Eritrean secessionist leaders.

## Oil producers blamed for inflation, poll finds

New York

A majority of the American people blame foreign oil producers for inflation and the recession in the United States, according to the Harris poll.

Of 1,543 households surveyed, 78 percent said the price increase of crude oil was responsible for inflation, and 66 percent charged Arab oil producers with causing the recession in the United States.

The report said Americans favored Israel in the Middle East dispute by 52 to 7 percent, while 24 percent supported neither side, 6 percent said they felt equally toward the disputants, and 11 percent said they were not sure. The poll said that a year ago only 39 percent of Americans favored Israel over the Arabs.

## Rhodesia and ANC to plan for parley

Salisbury, Rhodesia

A second round of talks between the Rhodesian Government and the country's African National Council (ANC), aimed at completing details for their proposed constitutional conference, will be held here

Wednesday (Feb. 12) informed sources said Tuesday.

The talks hinge on the venue for the conference on who will be the chairman and on the composition of the conference delegations. The main aim of the conference would be to establish black representation in the Rhodesian Government. Little or no progress was made at last week's two-hour meeting, ANC sources said earlier this week.

## Colson confers with aides of probe panel

Washington

Former White House special counsel Charles W. Colson met privately Tuesday with staff investigators for the Rockefeller commission to answer questions about allegations he has made concerning domestic operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

A spokesman for the commission refused to confirm that the interview was taking place, and the location was changed at the last minute in an apparent effort to avoid newsmen. However, an administration source confirmed that Mr. Colson was being interviewed in the Executive Office Building next to the White House.

## MINI-BRIEFS

### Railroad green signal

The bankrupt Penn Central Railroad says it won't have to shut down at the end of February after all. The line's trustees had threatened to halt service at the end of the month because of a cash shortage. But in Philadelphia Tuesday they postponed that drastic action at the urgent request of Congress and union employees.

### Apologetic Army

Philip Cameron Jr., who sued the Army for failing to live up to a recruiter's promises, has received an honorable discharge with full military benefits. "We're obliged to make sure the promises of a recruiter are met," said Maj. A. T. Brainerd, public information officer at Ft. Devens, Mass. "In this case, someone must have dropped the ball when this man came in the Army, and he didn't get his training."

### Donations from Ali

World heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali announced in New York he will donate all his future boxing earnings to charity and the development of black-owned and operated business ventures.

### Blackbird reprieve

The U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington Monday blocked for at least several days the Army's plan to eradicate some 12 million blackbirds roosting for the winter at Army bases in Kentucky and Tennessee.

### Butz sees price cut

Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz said in New York that record production will cause food prices to decline slightly in the second half of 1975.

### Compact Cadillac

General Motors' Cadillac Division plans to begin production March 24 on a new compact luxury car to debut May 1. In its first official announcement on the little Cadillac, the firm announced in Detroit the model will make up 20 percent of total Cadillac output when full production is reached.

## \*Thatcher's task: bridge party rifts

Continued from Page 1

Whitelaw came second in the race with only 79 votes. Trailing far behind were James Prior and Sir Geoffrey Howe, each with 19 votes, and John Peyton with 11 — all former Cabinet ministers.

### Unification next

Mrs. Thatcher thus becomes the first woman in a line of Conservative Party leaders who, in recent times, have included Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden, Harold Macmillan, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and Edward Heath.

She must now seek to unite the Conservative Party as a whole behind her. It will not be an easy task, although Mr. Whitelaw has already gallantly stated that he would be happy to serve in her shadow cabinet.

Somewhat the fact that Mrs. Thatcher is a woman did not seem as important as the fact that she was the one candidate who managed to project her views crisply and resolutely as an alternative to what Conservatives call the ruling Labour government's program of nationalization and increased taxes on the wealthy.

### A leader sought

"I want a leader," a burly Lancashire party worker exclaimed on television on the eve of the Feb. 11 ballot. The impression he and others on the program gave was that Mrs. Thatcher's strong views on the economy, on work, and on the family would be easier to sell than the vague goodwill exuded by Mr. Whitelaw.

The party's old guard has doubted whether Mrs. Thatcher could prove a strong enough leader to carry the Conservatives to victory in the next elections.

The Labour Party's front bench, although it sometimes resembles a bevy of querulous prima donnas barely kept in order by maestro Harold Wilson, is generally conceded to be loaded with talent and backed up by promising junior ministers.

The Conservative front bench, by contrast, has been considered lackluster for some time. Mr. Whitelaw conceded as much when he told the young Conservatives at Eastbourne Feb. 8 that the party would have to recapture some of the youthful excitement of the 1950s.

### Between two stations

The Conservatives seem to fall between two stools. On one hand, they are still the party of the landed gentry, as represented by Mr. Whitelaw. True, this gentry has, along with its foibles, a tradition of humaneness, of moderation, of fair play of the kind that managed, without too many

outward scars, the transition from world-girdling empire to a Europe-centered island kingdom. This component of the party, however, still exudes an upper-class image that hampers party efforts to broaden its appeal, even though the party as a whole includes representatives of all strata.

The other image projected by the Conservatives — represented in part

## \*How much oil, gas?

Continued from Page 1

"If the thrust of Project Independence depends primarily on increasing production of oil and gas, then it's on shaky ground," Dr. Skinner told a news conference.

### Major shortages seen

Candidates for a "threatened materials" list in the U.S. include copper (although worldwide and sea-bed resources are large), helium, mercury, asbestos, chromium, gold, platinum, palladium, tin, and to a lesser extent, antimony, tungsten, vanadium, silver, and zinc. Extensive research should be undertaken to find substitutes for these materials, NAS recommends.

Although the NAS study does not tackle how fuels and minerals should be conserved, it bluntly propounds conservation of resources as perhaps the most important means to "alleviate immediate economic strains . . . and avoid preempting the resources needed for future generations."

## British directors find they're 12% poorer

By Reuters

London

The average British company director is 12 percent poorer than he was five years ago because of taxation and inflation, according to a survey published in the Director magazine.

The survey said that although British living standards had generally increased by 29 percent, the average director's standard of living now was 12 percent lower than in January, 1970. His gross salary had gone up by 66 percent in this period but this had been reduced to 45 percent after taxation.

And with a 66 percent increase in prices the purchasing power of his salary had actually fallen by 12 percent, it said.

by former Prime Minister Edward Heath and now more aggressively by Mrs. Thatcher — is the new middle class. This is a meritocracy of talented technicians and managers who have risen by their own efforts, who have toiled strenuously for every penny they earn, and who therefore feel, along with Mrs. Thatcher, that "we should back the workers and not the shirkers."

## \*Ford pledges aid to farmers

Continued from Page 1

He said he had instructed federal energy administrator Frank G. Zarb to design a rebate program "to compensate the farmer for increased energy costs caused by our conservation program." Details would be announced "in the next few weeks."

### Some questions raised

The President told Kansas legislators here, "In my State of the Union message and in my TV address to the nation on the economy, I stressed that no industry or geographical area would be allowed to suffer a disproportionate burden of the energy program. This definitely applies to the American farmer."

The President is getting by and large a friendly and thoughtful response from his listeners on this two-day trip. But some among the businessmen, governors, legislators, and rank-and-file with whom he has met raise some questions:

• Can the President really win people over by speaking to selected audiences and not, for instance, even mentioning the word "unemployment"? (He had not done so at this writing, at least.) How will people in hard-hit Detroit, for instance, react when they see and hear the President on television and radio?

• Can Mr. Ford really assert leadership by being as conciliatory as he has been in recent days, making it clear, as he did in Houston, that he "really doesn't have all the answers"?

To the oil men and industrial leaders he met with in Houston, the President had a single message: that he was going to push incentives to bring about increased oil production.

Specifically, the President said he was opposed to ending the oil-depletion allowance. He let it be known through Mr. Zarb that oil men could be assured of help — if the President's program is enacted — whether or not the Congress does away with the depletion allowance.

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Iran's new metallurgical works at Isfahan (left), the Shah (center), and women in the Iranian military

Photos by R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer, and Sovfoto

## How oil wealth can be used to the benefit of all

### MANAGING OUR PLANET

Pattern for survival

The energy crisis has suddenly produced a new power factor in the world — the oil-rich lands. They can hold the hitherto wealthy industrialized world at ransom and plunge the impoverished into greater poverty. But there is a way in which their riches can be used to the advantage of everyone.

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tehran

A billionaire Arab ambassador has just bought a stately British home, and another billionaire Arab sheikh has tried to buy the Alamo as a present for his son. Iran has acquired a 26-percent interest in Krupp, Kuwait a 14-percent interest in Daimler-Benz. A Saudi Arabian has taken over control of a billion-dollar Detroit bank.

These are the external signs of the redistribution of wealth among the nations of the earth going on since last year's quadrupling of oil prices. For the first time in history, a group of mostly underpopulated, militarily insignificant countries, mostly non-Western, mostly in the Middle East, have become financial superpowers.

#### Major energy source

For the first time, also, the rich, industrialized nations of North America, Europe, and Japan wondered whether they were all going to become poor together — or at least not as rich as they have been. The scandal, as a popular newsmagazine put it, is on the other foot. Americans are glimpsing for the first time how some Europeans might have felt as mammoth corporations based in Texas or New York took over typewriter factories in Hull, England, or car plants in Flins, France, or real estate in Brussels.

There is little question that over the short run, at least until 1985, and probably until the end of the century, oil will be the major

energy source for most industrialized nations. For better or for worse, for their own survival, Europe, North America, and Japan are going to have to come to terms with the Middle East oil producers, to work out a fair, cooperative approach to the pricing of oil, the financing of essential oil purchases by rich and poor, and the use of oil revenues accruing to the producers in such a way as to benefit their own economies without ruining the global economic system.

It is an extraordinarily complex problem. Oil producers point out quite correctly that they have no control over the price of most commodities and imports they need, and that these have risen threefold or fourfold or more in price in recent years. Oil consumers retort that they could have absorbed the price rise in oil if it had taken place gradually instead of with such brutal suddenness.

#### Psychological hurdle

One of the major problems on the Western side is psychological. It is galling to know that for the first time since industrialization began, control over a commodity vital to their own survival does not lie within Western hands. Four centuries ago the Spaniards simply took the gold of the Aztecs and Incas. Until World War II the West would have done the same as regards oil. But today the rules of the game are different, and nations — no matter how powerful — cannot break them without risking a general collapse of world order.

The controversy in Britain over whether or not membership in the European Economic Community diminished the nation's sovereignty seems insignificant when compared with the loss of control that Western nations have collectively suffered over oil.

There is no substitute for cooperation. Without it the Western nations cannot survive, nor can the oil producers, nor can the deprived countries such as Bangladesh and India.

#### Emphasis to date

Emphasis in the world's press hitherto has tended to be on recycling, on the investment of dollars earned by the oil producers in such a way as not to bankrupt Western oil consumers. In other words, on how the West can get back the money it has to pay out for its oil.

But the real test of cooperation is going to be mutual benefit, as emphasized by persons as diverse as President Giscard d'Estaing of France or Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan.

What does mutual benefit mean? It means, for a starter, that the machines and skills Western companies are beginning to pour into oil-rich Middle Eastern lands must end up not only providing sales income for these companies and jobs for their employees at home, but producing real new wealth for the producer countries. This new wealth is not primarily money. It is not even cars or refrigerators or television sets, the new symbols of what money will buy. Rather, it is literacy, it is education, it is decent housing, better roads and communications, it is the whole web of skills and services 20th-century

man has developed so as to enable him to lead a richer life.

The Shah of Iran is a proud man, heir to a 2,500-year tradition of kingship through dynasty after dynasty. But as he has told visitor after visitor, it is not just the latest gadget from the West that he wants for his people. It is the capacity to make these gadgets. And that requires a program the like of which has never been seen before. All the Middle Eastern countries are in a hurry. Anxious to complete in 10 to 15 years what the West took decades and even centuries to build up.

#### More people

Saudi Arabia has recently announced a development plan that will cost up to \$30 billion over the next five to eight years, that will require nearly 100,000 skilled workers coming in from abroad. If successful, the plan will transform the country and literally make the desert bloom.

Across the Persian Gulf in Iran, the Shah has a larger population base than the Saudis — 32 million people compared with the 6 or 7 million Arabs of Saudi Arabia. In another quarter century he expects this population to double, and Iran to become one of the four or five mightiest nations on earth. He expects an oil income of \$114 billion during this period, of which he will spend \$95 billion for purchases from abroad and invest the remainder.

These goals may or may not be realized. What is certain is that as a nation and as a people, Iran will come into its own.

#### Pay is good

Ali Karimyan's father is a butcher in Meshed, northern Iran. Ahmad Satarsadeh's father is a farmer outside Isfahan. Majid Mohammadian's father is a construction worker in Tehran. Messrs. Karimyan, Satarsadeh, and Mohammadian are skilled workers in industry — the first two at the Aryamehr steel works near Isfahan, Mr. Mohammadian at Asmayesh, manufacturer of household appliances in Tehran.

Mr. Satarsadeh heard from a friend that Aryamehr, Iran's first steel mill, was recruiting workers and that pay for blast-furnace workers was extraordinarily good. He applied, was accepted, and after a period of training, takes home 600 rials a day, about \$9; or nearly three times as much as most factory workers. His father continues in farming, but his son will be studying mathematics in school.

Ali Karimyan went to high school in Meshed and intended at first to become a teacher. But he, too, was attracted by Aryamehr's high rates of pay and after a period of training in the Soviet Union has become a first-class technician in the hot strip mill.

#### Skills can't be bought

Aryamehr was started with Soviet technology and machinery eight years ago. Today, although about 60 Soviet technical advisers remain, it imports machinery from other major industrial countries — Britain and West Germany, France and Japan.

"With money, we can buy the best machines in the world," says Dr. Darius Sadri,

American-educated dean of the training school attached to the steel mill. "What we cannot buy are the skills to make the machines work."

It is not just the skills, but a way of life, that Dr. Sadri's school instills in its 1,000 students. Workers learn not only basic hygiene and safety rules but new attitudes — working by the clock, not by sun or moon or his own whim; quality control.

In fact, there are times when the whole country seems to be one vast training school, with the Shah's austere visage looking down on the students in every classroom. Iran is an autocracy; there is little pretense of democracy, and the Shah's word is law. Although there is a degree of effervescence in the schools, an outsider has the impression that so long as the country's economic growth continues as rapidly as in the past several years, most citizens put a better material life ahead of full political democracy. But obviously many problems lie ahead.

#### Head start

Iran is better equipped than most of the oil-rich countries to cope with these problems because Iran has had a head start in industrialization. The country now is working on its fifth five-year development plan; its per capita gross national product in 1973, before the great surge in oil prices, was already \$600; it is \$1,200 today. There is something of the atmosphere of Japan in the post-Korean war days just as industrial buildup was beginning but before skies were polluted and roads clogged with traffic. Tehran traffic is pretty horrendous even now, but on the Karadj road, where factories are being built, one still has splendid unclouded views of the snowcapped Elburz Mountains.

Here, in the crossroads of trails left by Cyrus and Alexander, the Parthians and the Sassanians, the Turks and the Mongols, is the West's newest frontier. British, French, and Italian technicians fill Tehran's hotels; at Isfahan Airport Americans from Bell helicopters help train pilots at the world's largest helicopter school; Americans and West Germans stalk the corridors of Iranian ministries, complaining that Chicago or Hamburg was never like this. And in Kuwait, or Riyadh, or the United Arab Emirates, the scene is much the same.

#### A chasm to bridge

Can something constructive and beneficial for both host country and for the already industrialized countries emerge out of this sudden, multifaceted encounter? Can the two together work out a means of benefiting the less fortunate nations of the world, those that, like Bangladesh or Tanzania, lack food, oil, and fertilizer as well as the means of paying for these essentials?

The gap between aspiration and fulfillment, what has been done and what must be done, is immense. There may well be crushing disappointments along the way. The rewards go beyond survival to the fulfilling of a vision of man's oneness such as has never been experienced before.

Third of a five-part series. Tomorrow: Scarcity and individual freedom.



## sports

## Pro basketball's Bill Russell is still the man who must be different!

By Phil Elderkin

There are some things I think you should know about William Felton Russell, who recently announced that he would refuse induction into basketball's Hall of Fame. Yes, this is the same man who led the Boston Celtics to 11 world championships in 13 years — the last two as player-coach.

Russell, who now coaches the Seattle SuperSonics, is often a put-on. Nothing delights him more than the opportunity to tweak the establishment's nose, a maneuver he has practiced with



## Change of pace

great skill in the past. Most people find it difficult to be neutral about him. Many of the things he has said and done over the years appear to be contradictions.

But he is an original who is worth knowing if you can get past his tough, outer crust, which most of the time is manufactured rather than real. This is not an attempt to judge him, merely to present some of his views for the reader's perspective.

Most famous people have a way of protecting their privacy that hardly ever offends. But Russell's way has always been the icy stare, the impolite remark or just plain bad manners.

I can't endorse this course of action, but I've seen how effective

it is — especially among male parents who have approached Bill with their offspring in tow and been refused autographs.

Early in his career I came out of the Celtics' dressing room with Russell so late after a playoff game that the building had already been cleared by police. Yet somehow two small boys had escaped detection and were approaching Bill with autograph books. He not only signed without a word, but safely escorted them to the street.

When Russell first came into the National Basketball Association in 1956, at what was then a major salary for a pro athlete, he refused to purchase a certain brand luxury automobile. His reason was that every black man who gets hold of some real money for the first time always buys a Cadillac. And while that decision might seem ridiculous to most

people, Bill felt he was avoiding a trap that could stereotype him.

It was the same way with clothes. "Take a look at what most exceptionally tall people wear and you'll find their garments are always too small — short in the pants and tight in the sleeves and all that jazz," Russell explained. "But you won't catch me falling for that. I'm getting all my clothes made special — like a little bit too big. I always try to do things people say I won't or can't do." In fact, he not only paid for his wife's clothes but used to shop for them himself.

Unlike most professional athletes, Bill did not invest his money along conventional lines, either, such as apartment houses or the stock market. Instead he poured more than \$250,000 into a Liberian rubber plantation, where at one time he employed more than 100 native workers at the going labor rate of 50 cents a day.

The plantation, along with a restaurant that Bill owned in Boston, collapsed at about the same time — reportedly leaving him with some severe tax problems. And I still don't know what happened to the \$10,000 worth of electric trains he used to have in the cellar of his Reading, Mass. home.

Russell also said early in his career that he owed the public the same thing it owed him — nothing.

"And since I owe them nothing,

I'll pay them nothing," he emphasized. "I'm not going to smile if I don't feel like smiling and I'm not going to bow my head in modesty because that's not my nature. I refuse to misrepresent myself. I refuse to smile and be nice to the kiddies. I don't think it is incumbent on me to set a good example for anybody's kids but my own."

Bill made few friends with those incendiary statements — a risk he has almost always been willing to take. Yet he was not that harsh a man then, nor is he that harsh a man now. Basically, he has always been afraid of people he doesn't know.

"A couple of times this old guy came by my restaurant and said: 'Hey, Bill, how you doin'?' and I'd tell him," Russ said. "Then the next time I see him he says: 'I hope you lose your next game!'"

"Just like that he says it and I don't know why. In fact, this has happened to me so many times that I just don't want to talk to people because I never know what they are going to say."

"And I've never been one to say much to anybody until they show me they're not trying to hurt me. You know, I've always worried a lot. I'm scared of winning and I'm scared of losing. And I'm scared that my kids won't be proud of me."

Yet it wasn't more than a couple of years later that I saw Russell stand up at a press con-

ference and retract an inflammatory statement he had once made regarding the black-white issue. Previously he had said that he didn't think any man could be pro-black without being anti-white.



AP photo

Always in fashion

"But I was wrong," he admitted. "I know that now. People who restrict themselves to one race are only limiting themselves as humans. When you arbitrarily refuse to associate with another race you are the loser, for you are going to miss out on being friends with a lot of beautiful people."

Then there was the East-West All-Star Classic — I think it was the last time it was held in St. Louis — when the NBA's publicity director asked every player to sign the game ball. This souvenir would then be taken to Springfield, Mass., where it would be placed on display at the basketball Hall of Fame.

Russell refused. When the NBA Commissioner appealed to Boston general manager Red Auerbach to approach Bill, Auerbach simply suggested that the ball be left with him.

"Russ will be dropping by my office sometime this summer," Red told the Commissioner, "and when he does I'll get him to sign it." And that's exactly what happened.

As a person and as a ballplayer, I liked Bill Russell. He has a fantastic sense of humor and we never had any problems. But Russell certainly knew that I did not agree with many of the things he said or did.

Turning his back on the Hall of Fame invitation is no surprise to me. And it was no surprise to Auerbach, either, who once had to pay Bill a dollar a year more than Wilt Chamberlain to get his name on a Celtics' contract!

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## EMPLOYMENT

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## 'Nickel Ride'—no run-of-the-mill action story A movie of our unsettled age'

By David Sterritt

Despite some flaws and pitfalls, "Nickel Ride" is a serious and imaginative work that deserves to be seen on its own terms. Compared to most run-of-the-mill gangster-algia epics, it is a proud achievement, a harsh, sometimes violent tale of street and upheaval in mobsterdom, a character study of a defeated man whose past seems more alive than his present. In it is very much a work of Robert Jigan — the Hollywood-pro director who keeps imbuing the most

likely projects with the melancholy algia of his famed "To Kill a Kingbird." That "The Nickel Ride" has nothing in common, on the surface, with "Kingbird." The anti-hero is a small-time hood who has outlived his usefulness to the mob. A "key" in charge of a rough neighborhood, he gradually discovers that key are no longer in demand. In an attempt to hustle up some moment respect, he engineers one big deal. But things don't go well, he feels his once-solid turf begin to shake beneath his feet. The fact of disaster, the key man eats into memory. He recalls his ego career as a carnival man, riding folks into the show with a vicious spiel — "How 'bout a kel ride? Ain't gonna be many left a couple of years..." His awareness wheels between present and past comfort, while around

him other people act out personal melodramas that lead to the movie's final tragedy.

Director Mulligan spreads the seedy story across the screen straightforwardly, never flinching at the tackiness of it all. Yet his cameras often peer beneath the cheap and garish veneer, catching gentle glimpses of an all-too-human sadness that seems worthy of attention, empathy, and respect.

This quiet sorrow is the key to "The Nickel Ride," which begins with muted black-and-white tones and fades into life with a gradual sweeping view of a series of simple objects — objects that reflect the smallness and fragility of one man's shaky existence, but also become talismans of the inner world that becomes his haven.

Jason Miller offers a strong and subtle performance as the foundering hood — quite a contrast with his deadpan walk-through acting in "The Exorcist." Linda Haynes, Bo Hopkins, and Richard Evans are some of the good supporting players.

But primarily "The Nickel Ride" is the achievement of its maker, Mr. Mulligan.

### 'La Rupture'

Claude Chabrol assembles one fascinating film after another in a fast-flowing stream of movie creativity. Yet American audiences usually have to wait, sometimes for years, before seeing them.

There is no good reason for this. Like the ever-popular Francois Truffaut, who has almost become a household word, Chabrol is an accessible artist who does on Alfred Hitchcock and fills even his most complex dramas with mysteries, tantalizing paradoxes, and slow-building sus-

pense. Though his films are often challenging, their rewards can be great.

So it is with "La Rupture" ("The Break-up"), now being released in the United States some five years late. On the surface, the story is unconventional and very distasteful. It begins with a dissolute man having a bad LSD trip, and climaxes with the drug aided seduction of a backward girl. But Chabrol's stance remains morally secure — he is concerned with exposing the many guises, and the self-destructiveness, of evil. His glances toward "sensationalism" serve to underline this theme. What might have been a decadent shocker thus emerges as a complex — and potentially controversial — condemnation of various forms of mental and moral corrosion.

Stephane Audran stars as an ill-fated young woman being viciously attacked by a self-righteous father-in-law who seeks falsely to prove her incompetence as a mother. The ubiquitous Jean-Pierre Cassel ("Murder on the Orient Express," "Love at the Top," etc.) plays an amoral con man out to invent the "evidence" against her that he cannot uncover. This innocent victim and immensely wicked villain are the chief players in Chabrol's grippingly filmed morality play, which pulls no punches in examining the evil it condemns and yet remains visually restrained despite the sometime foulness of its subject matter.

"La Rupture" is not a film for all seasons or all viewers. It plunges down dangerous corridors, refusing to simplify the towering moral issues it encounters. It is audacious and upsetting; yet it seeks always to be meaningful and — beneath its crime-thriller veneer — very, very serious.

## Hogarth: painter of stories

England in the Age of Hogarth, by Derek Jarrett. New York: The Viking Press. \$15. St. Albans, Hertfordshire: Hart Davis MacGibbon.

By Robert Nye

Hogarth — more so than any other English artist — painted short stories. His appeal is literary, critical, and dramatic. Charles Lamb, for instance, was well aware of this when he recounted the anecdote of the gentleman who said that the two books he esteemed most in his library were, first, Shakespeare, and, next, Hogarth.

"His graphic representations are indeed books," explained Lamb. "They have the teeming, fruitful, suggestive meaning of words. Other pictures we look at — his prints we read."

Derek Jarrett shows himself able to read Hogarth attentively and intelligently in this most attractive book. He uses his subject in order to look at the generation which Hogarth portrayed, and thus to write history. This is one of those unusual history books which truly brings the past to life.

There is nothing of dissection in Mr. Jarrett's method. He reveres Hogarth for the sweat of life clearly present on all he painted. He sees him as a kind of Laurence Sterne in oils — breathless, eager, impatient. And through him he looks at what Hogarth saw: the politics and the culture, the prodigious energy of the second half of 18th-century England.

Looking at a Hogarth picture I always find myself wondering: What happened to these figures just before the artist caught them in these precise attitudes? What is going to happen next?

These are the kinds of questions which Mr. Jarrett asks himself, and in doing so he follows the example of the first critical commentator, Lichtenberg, who wrote a series of explications of Hogarth's engravings in the period 1784-86. The result is as fascinating as a detective story.

Mr. Jarrett does not share Lichtenberg's limitation, either — which, broadly, may be stated to be such an infatuation with the boisterous realism of his subject that the criticism



The London Jockies, going to Newmarket'  
A satirical print by Matthew Early, about 1770

never quite comes to terms with a certain irritability at the fact of ugliness which worked in Hogarth's vision as a distorter, a finder of the grotesque, a provider of offense and insult even in scenes of comparative innocence.

Hogarth was sometimes so annoyed by his own anxieties that the outcome is like short stories by a cynical adolescent. Mr. Jarrett sees this, but he acknowledges also that this artist held a mirror up to Englishmen, and

that Englishmen have gone on recognizing themselves in it ever since. Hogarth breathed truth into the old cliché — he painted a picture of English society. Now Mr. Jarrett uses that picture brilliantly to illustrate a reading of Hogarth which is also a reading of English history. As a refreshing exercise in unacademic comment this book could scarcely be bettered.

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.

## Book Briefing

### Historical novel

The People and the Promise, by Ursula Sygne. New York: S. G. Phillips, Inc. \$6.95.

A short, entrancing novel based on the Biblical account of Moses and the exodus from Egypt, this is a book to be recommended — but with some reservation.

First, the recommendations. Mrs. Sygne doesn't sensationalize this inherently dramatic story, but tells it with simple sensitivity. She has, as she explains in her own introduction, "used the eyes of an imagined woman, Leah, to guide [her] through the journey from the time when the Promised Land was no more than a hope for the future to the breaching of the walls of Jericho."

Egypt with its Nile River agriculture, the pastures of the Midianites, the bone-weaving parched desert — these are conveyed vividly and feelingly. Bible readers in temperate climates especially will deepen their appreciation of the challenges Moses faced in this unsympathetic land.

The religious beliefs — the superstitions and idolatry, the gods of nature, the ever-nagging doubt of the Hebrew people regarding Moses and his tribal god and that god's

laws — these infuse the account with realism and historical accuracy. The desperate wanderings in the wilderness paralleled the long journey toward trusting one spiritual God.

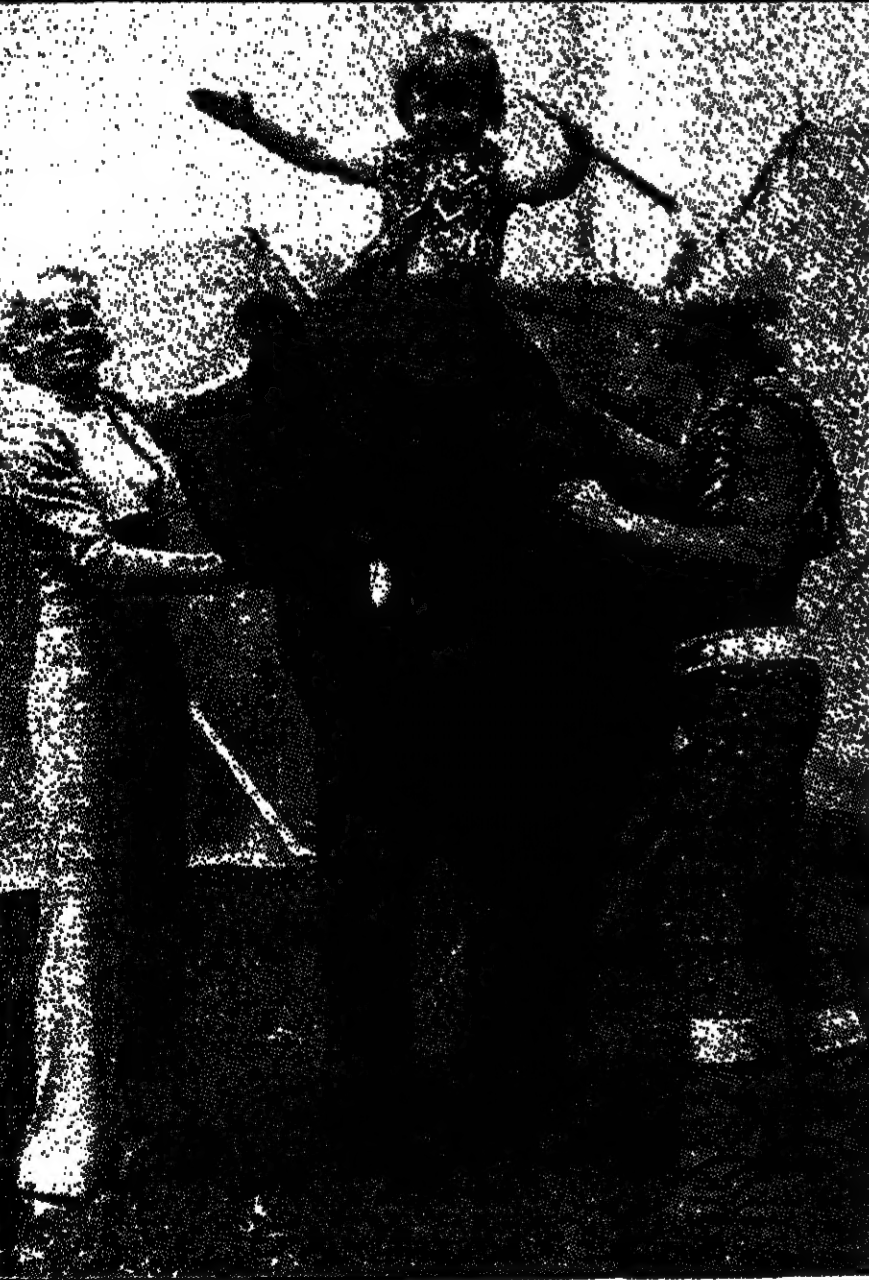
And people — the strong and the frail, the determined and the weak-willed, the god(s)-fearing and the magicians — these are sketched compassionately. Mrs. Sygne's characters, Moses included, are not given Hollywood's heroic proportions. They are believable human beings.

Yet therein lies a reservation about this book. Its believability is stressed at some sacrifice of inspiration. Moses is an extraordinary individual, that's true. Some readers, however, will take issue with his being no more than that.

The sign from God of Moses' hand becoming leprous and then clean again is omitted. Miriam's healing of leprosy is almost begged off with a disclaimer. And Moses, helpless in his old age, does not resemble the last view of the Biblical Moses whose "eyes were not dim, nor his natural force abated." Further, Moses' death — inflicted by a bull impersonating Yahweh — is the stuff of mythology.

But bring a Biblical background to this book and you will gain from its perspective and flavor.

—Merelle K. England



## 'Look Ma, no hands!'

Animal trainer Gunter Gebel and wife coach son Sigfrid in the art of baby-elephant sitting. They're all on "Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Circus," NBC-TV, Sunday, Feb. 16, 7:30-8:30 p.m. (check local listings).

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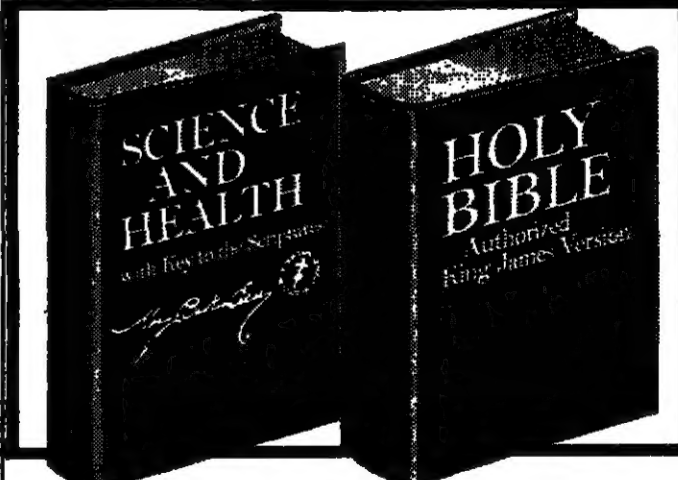
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## Emmys for Maureen Stapleton special?

By Arthur Unger

"Queen" is a groundbreaking TV series which re-evaluates the widow's role in today's society. Maureen Stapleton, who plays a low with all the painful awkwardness and vulnerability we have come to expect from a superb Stapleton character study, is not your typical gorgeous "swinger," and port-co-star Charles Durning is not your typical matinee idol. Yet

### television

script allows them to have a usually rewarding — although illicit relationship, including romance — nothing so often denied to the over-generation in film and TV fare.

What usually happens to the average widow after the initial impact of loss? Traditionally, in life as well as in literature, she grieves privately and then proceeds to make her lonely life — probably engaging in volunteer work or, if necessary, making some sort of career for herself out of the vestiges of training and talent she

has managed to salvage from her premarital years.

Not Bea Asher. As portrayed by Maureen Stapleton ("Queen of the Stardust Ballroom," CBS, Thursday, 9-11 p.m.), this widow accepts her loss rapidly, opens a thrift shop where she sells most of the memorabilia of her married life, dyes her hair, and redoes her face; then goes dancing at the Stardust Ballroom, where she meets a shy, Shakespeare-quoting mailman who, after taking what used to be called "advantage" of her, informs her he is married. Our traditional widow would have said: "Out of my house!" But not Bea — she says: "Please don't ever mention it again" and continues the relationship, refusing to trust only in the companionship of her children and grandchildren.

Instead of unselfishly devoting herself to them, Bea decides she owes it to herself to find what happiness she can — she even visits her husband's grave to tell him that he, too, would like her new-found friend.

Interspersed among the vignettes of the relationship are dance sequences in the ballroom, where older folk go to

find companionship in dance. For me, a bit of the Arthur Murray dance-lesson mystique is explained in those episodes. And then there are the songs — mostly internal soliloquies such as "Who Gave You Permission?" — a sad demand for explanations from the deceased husband. There is also a duet. The dance sequences were choreographed by Marge Champion, the lyrics written by Marilyn and Alan Bergman, score by Billy Gold-berg, direction by Sam O'Steen.

I found myself having very ambivalent reactions to "Queen." The performances are superb — both Miss Stapleton and Mr. Durning are totally believable, fulfilling their portrayals with pellets of self-recognition which explode periodically in the viewers' consciousness — even when the script forces them to sing and dance fantasy sequences in the midst of utterly realistic dialogue. The twist ending, which I dare not reveal to you, is more fantasy than the fantasy, although I suspect it was meant to be utter reality.

In any case, "Queen of the Stardust Ballroom" is two innovative and superbly acted hours of mixed joy and sadness.

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## science

# NOISE

How to muffle it-2

## Airplanes and trucks: the BIG polluters

By Monty Hoyt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
Inconspicuously, a microphone monitors one of the bridge toll plazas outside New York City.

"That gray and black truck that just passed you is doing 98 decibels," the two-way radio barked, and the shabby green chase car took off in pursuit, sirens blaring. "Pull over, pull over," the car's loudspeaker commanded.

The stocky, young Texas truck driver, who had hauled a load of empty plastic bottles across country, learned that his dual-stack, noise-belching trailer-truck had exceeded the New York City noise ordinance limits. Somewhat bewildered, he accepted the citation from the city inspectors. The citation carried a maximum \$500 fine.

Increasingly, authorities are cracking down on noisemakers in the United States. In New York, Chicago, and throughout California, noise standards are routinely enforced. Other areas are joining suit.

The major target is transportation noise. This includes truck, motorcycle, and other roadway roar, which can usually be heard above most other noises in the environment.

... the dual-stack, noise-belching trailer-truck had exceeded the New York City noise ordinance limits. ...

as well as the greatest annoyance of all, the din of jet aircraft. Measurable relief is in sight.

Last October the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) established national noise emission regulations for all interstate motor carriers. The new standards stipulate that noise from medium and heavy-duty trucks may not exceed 90 decibels at 50 feet at speeds above 35 m.p.h. (a level requiring shouted conversation) or 86 decibels at slower speeds.

### Standards criticized

However, congressional and environmental critics call the standards "just short of an outrage" and "legalized noise pollution." The EPA regulations preempt those of at least two states—California and Illinois—that had tougher truck noise standards on the books.

New York City, which has completed its first year of metering and ticketing noisy trucks, issued some 2,150 noise citations. Yet, with only seven noise inspectors and one policeman assigned to sound metering teams, it doesn't begin to check the 260,000 trucks that move about the city each day. Still, it is a fairly good deterrent, city officials say. They estimate that the number of offending noisemaking vehicles has dropped from 17 percent to around 10 percent. And truck fleet owners, once they have been fined, are usually careful to see that their trucks are maintained to meet city noise standards.

### Chicago program

Under its 3½-year-old noise program Chicago has issued nearly 4,000 citations, mostly to noisy trucks, motorcycles, and private cars.

Meanwhile, the following developments are encouraging:

• The U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT) has been working on a quiet truck program for nearly five years. Nine prototype "whisper" trucks now are in operation. Good

engineering design has reduced noise to levels comparable to those of a car, or slightly lower—a 90 percent reduction in noise.

"It's eerie being around them," says John E. Wesler in the DOT Office of Noise Abatement. "If you're not careful, you're likely to get run over by them, because you don't hear them coming."

Conveniently, these new trucks will pay for all the noise abatement hardware lavished on them in about 1½ years through improved fuel economy.

• Federal noise limits for interstate rail carriers are expected in the next month or two from the Environmental Protection Agency.

• Federally funded highways must now meet certain noise design standards in residential areas and in passing near important public facilities such as hospitals, schools, or libraries. Barriers, noise fences, sinking highways below grade, and other techniques must be used to meet the standards.

• Continuing research is being conducted on tire noise, which is the major contributing factor to vehicle noise levels, particularly for trucks, at highway speeds.

Yet highway noise notwithstanding, it is the ear-ringing roar of jet planes that arouses greatest public annoyance.

Schools, hospitals, nursing homes, residences, and businesses near every major airport from Seattle to Miami suffer distinct hardships. For example, a number of families living near the Los Angeles International Airport have brought a series of suits against the City Department of Airports, seeking damages totaling more than \$3 billion. As a result, the city has nearly completed a \$130 million land-condemnation program, buying up land to build a buffer between the airport and the community to stem this costly battle.

Teachers at 313 schools in New York City near La Guardia, and John F. Kennedy International airports are forced to teach by the "jet pause" method. For 20 seconds during the flyover time, teachers can't talk with students. The loss of instruction time averages 10 minutes per hour, or one day a week, according to a National Academy of Sciences study. And this does not include the disruption to concentration for nearly 400,000 students.

"The airline industry has pretty much the say of what the noise levels should be for all aircraft," charges noise expert John Tyler.

"For years now," he adds, "the airlines have viewed the problem of noise as something that would interfere with their profits. No airline was willing to take the lead unilaterally. And the FAA, feeling it had to protect the profits of the airlines, didn't do anything either." Now executive director of the Center for the Study of Noise in Society, Mr. Tyler was the chief engine noise abatement project engineer for Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Division, which manufactures 85 percent of all air transport engines used in the United States.

Using engine technology developed by NASA three years ago, it would be possible to cut the roar of a four-engine jet aircraft some 15 decibels below the existing FAA noise standards. Even a 10 decibel reduction could be achieved with about a 4 percent increase in direct operating costs for the aircraft, Mr. Tyler says.

### Less area for impact

Such a move, coupled with noise abatement operating procedures for aircraft, which the FAA and most airlines have ignored, could reduce the population exposed to excessive aircraft noise in the U.S. from 16 million to 1 million, and provide important relief for that remaining number, Mr. Tyler argues.

A 4 decibel reduction of aircraft noise would reduce the impacted area

on the ground by about 40 percent and would provide noticeable relief to those still affected. A 10 decibel reduction would represent a 75 percent reduction in the noise "footprint" (the ground area exposed) and of the duration of the noise. To those still impacted, it would sound like a halving of the noise levels (although it is a 90 percent reduction in acoustic

"The airline industry has pretty much the say of what the noise levels should be for all aircraft."  
— John Tyler

energy). A 15 decibel reduction would reduce the area exposed on the ground by 88 percent. In most cases this would limit the noise impact to airport property.

### "Paper" reduction alleged

"If an honest effort were to be made to establish the noise limits for the new generation of aircraft five to 10 years down the road, it should be done right now. Yet the new limits being discussed by the FAA and the airlines [a 4 decibel reduction, which would merely formalize what present jets have already accomplished] would not reduce the noise levels of any transport plane in the system or any to be built in the next five years. It's a paper reduction. They are merely holding the line to what they have today," Mr. Tyler argues.

FAA officials respond that they have been discussing standards for future aircraft that would reduce noise levels up to 9 to 11 decibels on sideline measurements and that three- and two-engine aircraft in the future would have to meet more stringent noise requirements than four-engine jets (currently all have the same standard).

### Improved performance

Furthermore, the actual performance of their future aircraft will

undoubtedly be better than the standard, says Dr. John O. Powers, FAA's chief environmental scientist. "No manufacturer would commit himself to a design that comes right to the line. Because of design tolerances, manufacturers are going to design to a level below the standard if they want growth potential in their aircraft."

"The quiet engine developed by NASA is basically a demonstrator engine. It has an excessive gross weight for airline configuration and excessive acoustical treatment so that fuel consumption is up and the aircraft is well beyond the break-even point in direct operating costs. As you reduce noise, you reach a point where further reductions are so expensive that they are not practical to live with," Dr. Powers says.

### Airline's option?

Critic Lloyd Hinton maintains that most of the FAA actions have been to impose voluntary controls on aircraft noise "which leaves the public at the mercy of each individual airline. Noise reduction comes about, when it can be sold to the airlines that changing their procedures can save them money and improve safety. Noise abatement is only a tertiary benefit."

"Our goal is compatibility between

"As you reduce noise, you reach a point where further reductions are so expensive that they are not practical to live with."  
— Dr. John O. Powers

the air transportation system and airport neighbors," FAA officials respond. Safety stands foremost among considerations in any changes proposed. "Then we have to take steps according to what technology will allow and what is economically reasonable," they say.

## Should biologists police themselves?

By Robert C. Cowen

The ability of biologists to create possibly dangerous microbes raises an awkward question. Should such scientists be free to set their own goals and safeguards, or should society regulate what is traditionally an area of free inquiry?

Biologists are alarmed enough at the prospect of microscopic monsters escaping their laboratories to ask themselves this question. And that is why a committee of the (U.S.) National Academy of Sciences last July urged a moratorium on such research while the hazards were considered.

In Britain, the Medical Research Council followed up with a moratorium call of its own. Meanwhile, a working party established by the advisory board of the U.K. Research Councils and headed by Lord Ashby of Cambridge University looked into the matter.

After six months' study, the Ashby party now says "the hazards are less serious than some of us first thought . . . the potential benefits . . . are very great. . . Our verdict," it adds, "is that,

provided precautions are taken, the potential hazards need not cause public concern."

This reassuring conclusion leaves open the question of who determines these "precautions" and sees that they are observed.

### Research notebook

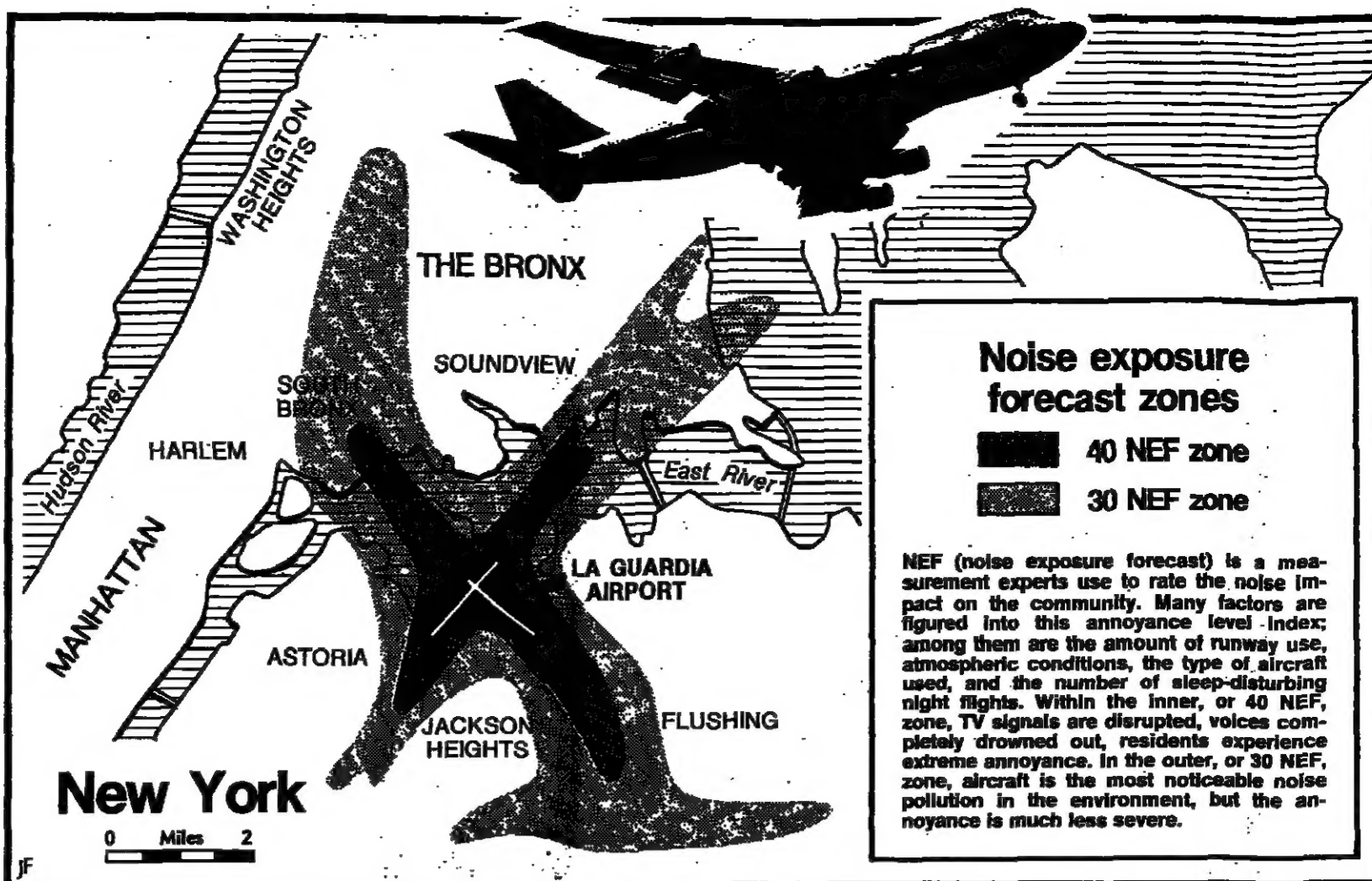
The research involved centers on a chemical called DNA. This carries genetic "instructions" for making animals and plants. Biologists now can take DNA apart and put it together again using bits of DNA from various organisms, including viruses. Such lab-tailored DNA can be incorporated into bacteria. Biologists favor bacterial strains like those normally living in humans. Hence the concern that, should a harmful strain of such bacteria be created and escape, it could directly threaten people.

Biologists can guard against this by maintaining strict lab security. Or, as the Ashby report suggests, they might try to disarm the bugs by developing laboratory strains that can't live in the human body.

### Noise exposure forecast zones

40 NEF zone  
30 NEF zone

NEF (noise exposure forecast) is a measurement experts use to rate the noise impact on the community. Many factors are figured into this annoyance level index; among them are the amount of runway use, atmospheric conditions, the type of aircraft used, and the number of sleep-disturbing night flights. Within the inner, or 40 NEF, zone, TV signals are disrupted, voices completely drowned out, residents experience extreme annoyance. In the outer, or 30 NEF, zone, aircraft is the most noticeable noise pollution in the environment, but the annoyance is much less severe.



## moneywise

### Set up your own pension plan

By Robert Edwards

Did the new pension law permit individuals not covered by pensions at their work to set aside funds for retirement? When does it become effective, if passed, and how do I go about setting it up?

Mrs. M. W.  
The Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, as signed by President Ford on Sept. 2, 1974, authorizes individuals to establish their own Individual Retirement Accounts (IRA) by deducting 15 percent of their income to set aside up to \$1,500 each year tax-free. The IRA provisions of the act become effective with the tax year 1975. Insurance agents, banks, and stockbrokers will be offering plans for IRA pensions as they do now for self-employed persons.

### Set-asides for big bills

You indicated a plan for paying big bills by setting aside 1/12 of the total each month. If my bills total \$600 per year, I should set aside \$50 per month. But, if I have to pay out \$150 the second month, where would the extra \$50 come from? Do you have to have \$600 to start?

R. J.  
A \$600 account at the start would simplify things, but the full amount for 12 months is not necessary. Your understanding is correct—first total big bills for taxes, insurance, and other once-a-year payments. Then, divide the total by 12. In your case, you would need to borrow \$50 from a regular checking account or other source to make the \$150 payment. But, rather than skip the next \$50 monthly deposit, begin immediately to rebuild the big-bill fund. If the next payment is also bigger than the fund's total, pay the extra from another source and continue the \$50 buildup. After one year your fund will keep pace with payments. By adding any necessary increment at the time and continuing to build the fund, you avoid having to deposit the full amount. Or, begin your plan immediately after paying your biggest bill. A year later the funds will be there to pay it from your regular set-aside deposits. Plus—you'll be earning interest if your account is in a bank or savings and loan that pays from day of deposit to day of withdrawal.

### Interest on agency issues

Why do agency securities bring a higher rate of interest than Treasury notes? Is there a higher risk of owning agency securities, such as Bank for Cooperatives notes? The B for C notes recently drew 9.55 percent interest compared to 8.5 percent for Treasury notes.

J. B.  
Some bonds, such as FNMA and GNMA and others, are backed by the full faith and credit of the United States. Treasury bills, notes, and bonds are a direct obligation of the U.S. Government and, thus, carry little risk. Consolidated debenture bonds are issued by the Bank for Cooperatives to raise loan funds. According to Moody's, "The United States Government assumes no liability, direct or indirect, for the debentures." The Bank for Cooperatives is organized and administered under the Farm Credit Administration. The higher yields for B for C debentures reflects a higher risk compared to Treasury notes.

### Necessity for attorney

Is there any necessity for us to see an attorney at this time, given the following situation? (There follows a description of jointly owned property and other assets.) Daughters are named as joint-executrices in our two holographic wills.

M. H.  
The main question raised in your letter concerns the validity and completeness of your holographic (handwritten) wills. You really should assure yourselves that this will is (1) legal, and (2) expresses all of your wishes without opening up problems for your joint executrices. You really should consult a local attorney for a review of your wills.

A Wednesday column  
Readers are invited to send questions to Moneywise, Box 353, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123.





"A Wheatfield with Cypresses" 1889: Oil on canvas by Vincent van Gogh

Courtesy of the National Gallery, London

## Turbulence by nature

Near Saint-Remy in Provence Vincent van Gogh painted "A Wheatfield with Cypresses" in the summer of 1889. Eighty-five summers later I stood at that place, echoing in my thought his words to his brother Theo, "The scenery at Saint-Remy is very beautiful."

The sun was hot and the cicadas sent up their surprisingly loud and insistent clamor, dust rose from the narrow lanes and hovered over an orchid carpet of lavender plants punctuated by dark green sentinels of cypress. Turning slightly, I faced Van Gogh's vista across grain fields varied by exquisite little olive trees, by pines and cypress, and finally by the rolling forms of the Alpilles, rugged foothills of the far distant Alps.

The enchanting stimulus for Van Gogh's painting remains today, but when you know the work, you see the scene with a heightened sense of its vitality and significance. Van Gogh exaggerated the vigorous turnings of the growing grain and trees and the rough juttings of the hills by an emphasis on each linear stroke of his brush and he increased that sense of curvilinear vitality by accentuating the turbulent cloud formations above. Everything works together in one massive unity of dynamic movement, symbolic of the intense sense

of an all-encompassing life that the artist felt in the world around him.

One mighty stabilizing form rises on the right side of the painting: the dark, vertical of the cypress. Its implications for Van Gogh may be explained by a letter he wrote to his brother in June of that year: "Cypresses still occupy me. I should like to do something with them like my canvases of sunflowers, because it is surprising to me that they haven't been done yet the way I see them. They are beautiful in line and proportion like an Egyptian obelisk. And the green is of such a distinguished quality. It is the black spot in a sunlit landscape, but it is one of the most interesting black notes, one of the most difficult to hit right that I can imagine."

These few sentences touch on the major concerns of the artist: line, color, accent; and on his struggle to find just the right translation of his vision. Certainly the cypress appears as Van Gogh's own living obelisk, symbol of eternal life. Its serpentine silhouette stands like a monument to his special vision, while around it he has increased the sense of light and aliveness by the use of bright and clear blues, greens and yellows.

Thus, by his use of pure color, his emphasis on certain forms and his vibrating line, he created works that

did much more than record the scenes before him — they began to suggest a depth of meaning, to hint of spiritual content beneath the surface. For Van Gogh had a deep and intense love for nature and for mankind. He longed to help his fellow man, and after an unfruitful period as a lay preacher, he turned to art as his best method of communication. He taught himself by prodigious efforts, working long and doggedly year after year to find his way. It is encouraging to realize that he was then able to create all his mature works, the great masterpieces known today throughout the world, in less than three years, between 1888 and 1890 when he was at Arles, Saint-Remy and Auvers.

Through the rhythmic movement of line and the richness of pure colors judiciously juxtaposed, he created a symphony of dynamic relationships and harmonies which increase our enjoyment and understanding of nature's wonders and of life itself. It was the discovery and demonstration of the importance of the elements of color and line themselves for the expression of ideas that made Van Gogh a father of modern expressionism and a major forerunner of twentieth century painting.

Ashley St. James

### Off the stillwater road

Under a massive tree we stopped, one night, just off the Stillwater road. The campfire smoke flavored the frying bacon with delight. The little staccato snappings of burning oak, the coals beneath the skillet glowing red, the haltered horses munching at their hay, some small bird chirping briefly overhead, a cowbell tinkling faintly far away — how good it was. Off in the night, somewhere, a coyote's ululation sounded, shrill. Berie and wild. My father said, "Out there some old one of the prairie claims it still." Some old one of the prairie, a lonely crier — how huge the night, how dark, beyond our fire.

Elijah L. Jacobs

## The day of hay

It is like when we were children, like the night before Christmas, a birthday or a picnic. We can scarcely sleep for wanting to see what morning brings. This happens to all of us in the backcountry when the weather reporters announce that there is a possibility of rain. Sometimes they say "threat" of rain because they are city people and don't understand about the needs of pastures and fields.

On this particular evening a threat of rain was slightly promised. The sky was stormed by clouds, a slight breeze blew from the southwest, but this time I was not going to believe in rain until it happened. But in the night I was awakened by a strange sound; morning was wonderfully wet. Already there was a good pond between house and barn. Dogs and cats wanted to go outdoors, wanted to come back into the house. Rain fell steadily all the time I was doing chores. Though it was a winter month the rain was not overly cold. There might not even be snow on the taller mountains.

Back in the house I thought about

what a good day I could have. I could answer a stack of mail, dust up the parlor, write on the newest book, not be tempted to go outdoors. My trouble is always a compulsive desire — when afternoon comes I must get on a horse and go look at things.

The phone rang while I was happily starting on the first of the tasks to which I'd assigned myself. George, our neighbor, said that he had started up the hill with our mail, found a truck and trailer load of hay stuck in the middle of the muddy road. "No way to get around it."

I said I'd phone my other neighbors, Bernice and Archie. They have big equipment and had pulled out stuck trucks before.

"Yeah, but the truck driver isn't there."

"Well, he must have walked up to Willowmede where the hay was going. I'll phone there."

But Kenny at that ranch hadn't heard about the stuck truck, hadn't seen the driver. He put chains on his pickup and drove to investigate. In the meanwhile I phoned my neigh-

bors who own the 'dozer and they were eager to go pull out the truck.

The problem, however, was that the driver had disappeared and the cab of the mammoth machine was locked.

Next George reached me with the mail. "I don't know how I ever got by that truck. Just squeezed through the mud. Jump in the pickup and come look. Bring your dogs for a ride."

I did, was properly impressed. But what impressed me more, happily, was that seven head of my cattle had wandered down the road, were lined up on either side of truck and trailer, feasting. Of course they had to work for every mouthful they got as the hay was tightly baled, but they considered it worthwhile. As we were admiring that scene a car came along, tried to squeeze past, got stuck. Archie and Bernice gave up on bringing their 'dozer and came walking. We all helped push and the stuck car got backed out. Other neighbors came to look. Some brought their dogs and all the dogs had a fine time running around

The Monitor's daily religious article

## Overcoming violence

We don't need to feel helpless in the face of violence in the world today, whether it threatens us or others.

God is divine Mind; and He created all. All creation is therefore mental, not material. It consists of divine thought-substance, not mindless atoms. Each individual, in his real, spiritual nature, is an idea formed by infinite Mind, and unfolds forever in Mind's limitless range.

The Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, says, "God is everywhere, and nothing apart from Him is present or has power."

There can be no evil of any kind, no violence, in God's universe, for He is wholly good and never causes evil. What, then, is the evil that we see about us?

Christian Science knows that evil can only be a supposition, an illusion, an appearance without substance or reality, because God is All and He is all good.

This understanding gives us power over any evil. Only when a lie is believed can it afflict. Christ Jesus illustrated powerfully, in his earthly mission of healing and salvation, how understanding Truth, or God, vanquishes error.

Knowledge of spiritual fact heals human supposition. Where those around him could see only a leper, he saw — with spiritual insight, or true understanding of God and man — the healthy, complete, perfect individual, the child of God. The mental lie, claiming to be solid, material flesh impaired by disease, did not deceive Jesus. He was able, through his own spiritual understanding, to cast out from the sufferer's consciousness the afflictive belief of leprosy, and the man was healed.

This Christianly scientific method of healing was equally successful in curing violence, when the Saviour restored a violent madman to peaceful sanity.

Instead of reacting to violent deeds or threats with fear or anger, we can turn in thought to God, feel His reassuring presence, remind ourselves of His allness. We can know that we, and all others, are safe and at peace in Him in our real, spiritual selfhood — which is our only true identity.

This realization is a protection against violence, to the degree that we really know man's invulnerability and immortality. Spiritual knowledge forms a strong defense while at the same time it leads us to take sensible human precautions. The same healing truths of man's perfect unity with divine Truth and Love can reach others too, awakening them to their true, peace-loving nature as God's children, enabling them to discard false, evil concepts of themselves.

We don't have to settle for a world full of violence. But the world's final release from violence can only come when men learn to banish evil by recognizing its worthlessness, powerlessness and nothingness in the ever-presence and strength of God, divine Love.

*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, p. 473; See Mark 5:2-15.

[Somewhere on the page may be found a translation of this article in Spanish. Usually once a week an article on Christian Science appears in a Spanish translation.]

## A deeply Christian way of healing

The Bible speaks of the great love and compassion that moved Jesus when he healed. In his ministry he turned the thought of those seeking healing to a fuller understanding of God's love and goodness.

In a deep, prayerful search of the Bible, Mary Baker Eddy discovered that Jesus' teaching and healing were scientific. She learned that health, freedom, and abundance are the natural and provable effects of God's overflowing goodwill for His children.

After proving this in her own healing work, she taught others how they could be healed by spiritual means alone. She explains this method of Christian healing in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*. A careful study of its message can give you the clear understanding of God that heals. You can obtain a copy with the coupon below.

Miss Frances C. Carlson  
Publisher's Agent  
4-5 Grosvenor Place, 8th Floor,  
London SW1X 7JH

Please send me a paperback copy of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*. (H)

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My cheque for £1.07 enclosed as payment in full.

### Daily Bible verse

For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. Psalms 91:11

together. By then the rain had lightened and no one grew too wet or cold.

Some of our cars were stranded on one side of the hay, some on the other. Since the stuck passenger car had rutted the mud even more deeply, there was little chance of anyone now driving through. No one wanted to go anywhere anyway. We visited and except for lack of food it was like a neighborhood picnic.

Presumably the truck driver was not happy, but that was his mistake for not finding the nearest neighbor.

Not until just before dark did the truck get pulled out and to its destination. Then our party line was busy with every one telling every one else what had happened. Somehow the poor driver had got himself to the nearest small city, thirty miles away, had hired equipment to pull out the truck. We all gasped considering the cost of that.

But the rest of us, including cows and dogs, had had a good day of excitement and fun. Cows had enjoyed the food part of the picnic.

Judy Van der Veer



# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Wednesday, February 12, 1975

## The Monitor's view

### Ford on the road

You have to hand it to President Ford. Once he is sold on something, he fights for it. Those opposed know where he stands.

Fortright advocacy is one of the qualities of leadership for helping a nation solve problems, such as America's current double-header of economy and energy. Granting a measure of politicking at government expense in Mr. Ford's free-swinging roadshow, it is on balance a salutary exercise. And it can be made more so if Mr. Ford goes further beyond attacking gas rationing ("over my dead body") and incomplete Democratic programs to explain more fully just why he is so firmly wedded to a general approach that seems to favor the auto and oil industries more than the needy citizen in the necessary quest for energy conservation and economic stability.

The President may have had little problem on that score among the oil interests in Texas. He has had more skepticism from governors and other representatives of the people. They know how far from subsequent reality was his economic program of last fall.

But certainly, as a general principle, all can agree when the President says of the energy situation:

"Instead of betting on what foreign sources may do, we should

put our money on what Americans can do and will do."

The President might well schedule more contact with the people themselves in the unemployed or food-stamp segment of the population, for example. He needs that kind of feedback in the negotiations with the Congress that will have to increase as congressional alternative programs take shape — negotiations that really ought to have been pursued more fully before Mr. Ford got locked into his present program.

On the other hand, it is hard to see what national purpose was served by Mr. Ford's meeting with the indicted John Connally, whose switch to the President's party has turned out to be the kind of support the Republicans don't need.

On the plus side, the travels of Jerry Ford do bring to the people a leader with whom they had been little acquainted before his appointment. It is said that, like Mr. Nixon, he is going over the heads of Congress and the press to the people. But the whole mood has changed. This President is not making an end run around "enemies." He is using the technique of challenging his friends. It may be politics, but it is in an American tradition of fair play, and all sides should rally to keep it that way.

### IRA going political?

The new cease-fire called by the illegal Irish Republic Army is the most hopeful development in a long time. It could mean that the IRA, bowing to the pressure of Roman Catholic opinion, has decided to go political and work through the coming constitutional convention to achieve a new political structure for Northern Ireland.

After the savage struggle that has torn at Ulster for so long, such an outcome could only be gratefully welcomed.

But it would be naive not to recognize that the road ahead is far from certain.

In taking the step it has, the IRA probably reasons that the likelihood of a convention coming up with something is minimal. A proportional representation scheme will allow the minority Catholics some representation, but it cannot override the fact that the Protestants will still have a two-to-one edge.

The convention could thus easily break up and the IRA would have the excuse it needed to resume terrorist operations. If, however, it did produce something, the IRA

could take credit and then concentrate on political action.

There is danger, too, that Protestant extremists will wreck the new truce. They never said they would observe it and the deplorable slaying of two Roman Catholics in the first hours of the cease-fire is a bad harbinger.

The cease-fire also has liabilities for the British Government, which is working hard to resolve the problem. Protestants may wonder what has been given up in order to get the IRA to do what it has. If the activist leaders can make a case that the British yielded something, an opposition could develop.

Amid the uncertainties, however, there is also hope in the fact that the government of Ireland has taken a tough stand and refused to give way to IRA demands for IRA prisoners now on hunger strike. This is thought to have played a role in the cease-fire decision.

When more and more Roman Catholics and Protestants alike renounce terror and force and bloodshed in striving for economic and political justice, the ray of hope for Northern Ireland will begin to shine.

### Lincoln and South Korea

President Park has tried to engineer a better result in today's referendum on martial rule with a campaign to muzzle press opposition and dissent. Chief target of the campaign is South Korea's major newspaper, Dong-A Ilbo. The government's latest tactic against the newspaper has been pressure on major advertisers such as banks and retail stores to withhold advertisements.

Quite remarkably, however, private citizens have been coming forward to place "sympathy" ads

in the paper, in small and large dollar amounts. One young father reportedly remarked when placing a \$20 ad, "I desire freedom." The newspaper's editors claim it can survive on the sympathy ad revenue, plus the benefits of a jump in circulation from 650,000 to 800,000 since the government's antiadvertising campaign began.

Perhaps to counter its losses due to an upswing in support for press freedom and dissent generated by its attack on Dong-A Ilbo, the Park government did permit newspapers to print statements by opposition leaders Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung.

But in the long run, such attacks on a free press have to be counterproductive. Park's own government, in a recent publication, praises Dong-A Ilbo for resisting censorship during the 35 years of Japanese occupation that ended with World War II.

A government that purports to be a democracy while it is imposing martial-law rule must be confused over the priorities of basic rights. However, as the supporters of Dong-A Ilbo are courageously showing, not all South Koreans are confused about the prerequisites for democracy.

Noting that today's South Korean referendum coincides with Abraham Lincoln's birthday, a young book publisher pointedly quoted the President from Illinois in a front-page ad: "... that this government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

## Opinion and commentary

### Readers write

#### Mideast partisanship

To The Christian Science Monitor:

I find your letters page tilting, denials to the contrary notwithstanding, toward a gratuitous and hypercritical view of Israel, as if you have to "go overboard" to "make up" for so-called general media bias in favor of Israel. I would add that I find John Cooley's reportage often so mixed up with his editorializing that I have found him at times hardly worth reading. As for Joseph Hirsch's recent column, which held that increased anti-Semitism does not mean increased anti-Zionism, I'd say Mr. Hirsch's thesis is a hope which I share, but not a provable fact, though his presentation would have the reader think it is a fact and that there is no connection between anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish feelings.

Further, his implicit view that Jews must simply stop being so paranoid and extra-sensitive about Israel betrays an enormous insensitivity to the fact that despite its military prowess, etc., Israel is in real peril.

Jews sense this peril — and of course "you don't have to be Jewish" to sense this, or to like Israel — and therefore react with anger and alarm at aspersions (I am not here singling out Mr. Hirsch, may I say) that Jews are somehow unable "to take" criticism.

When of course a problem in Israel concerns church-state relations or Ashkenazic-Sephardic communal friction, American Jews, having sensed that these are not matters of urgent peril, do speak up and are argumentative and often critical. For the Monitor, however, to constantly suggest otherwise, that Jews are somehow lemmings because they "side" with Israel on problems dealing with security and survival, is therefore deceitful and false.

Philip Baran  
Associate Professor  
Department of History  
Berkshire Community College  
Grove Hall, Mass.

To The Christian Science Monitor:

You may not give a hoot, but I have to tell you that I subscribed to the Monitor because of the excellence of the articles by many of your foreign correspondents, as I did not want to miss any. I have canceled my subscription because of your intolerant and unjust attitude toward the Palestinian Arabs.

You ignore the fact that a million or more were driven from their homes, their land, their businesses, with nothing but what they could carry. They fled because of the massacres and threats to their lives. This was a deliberate policy of the Zionist program, so that a state, exclusively Jewish, could be established.

Is it not only natural that they should be bitter and inimical toward Israel? That there should be some among them moved to revenge these injustices, is to be expected. That they resort to organizing groups for infiltration, pillage, and murder has to be expected as long as nothing is done to relieve their miserable existence. We deplore that it is so. We denounce and condemn all acts of terror, especially when they turn upon innocent, peaceful inhabitants.

"This I expect you to do in regard to the Palestinian Arab acts of terror."

But I also expect you to be equally concerned about the safety and lives of the Arab refugees and the citizens of Lebanon, Jordan, and other Arab states.

When the Israeli Army commands invade the neighboring states, bulldoze dwellings and administrative buildings, drop bombs and napalm from air, fire and throw grenades in houses killing occupants, round up and machine gun indiscriminately men, women, children, refugees or citizens — without adequate condemnation from you — then I have to assume that you follow the Zionist propaganda line in toto.

I consider Israel's acts and policies indefensible, immoral, and highly anti-Christian, hence insupportable. Not a penny would I contribute toward subscription to a paper endorsing such.

Jacob Kalish  
Lake Oswego, Ore.

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Albert Schlossberg's letter appealing to history on behalf of the Jewish Legion and Stern terrorist gangs as compared with the guerrilla activities of the PLO should not be allowed to stand. The Jewish gangs engaged in terror against Arab civilians, who had inhabited the land for centuries, and against the British military, who were in Palestine by authority of the League of Nations. The PLO are engaged in guerrilla activity against the Israelis, who are occupying territory seized in wars of aggression and to which they have no right. Would Mr. Schlossberg condemn the partisans in Poland and Russia, and the resistance fighters in France, who engaged in terrorism against the Hitlerites, who occupied their territory, to which they had no right?

I commend the Monitor for its unbiased attitude toward the conflicting parties in the Middle East.

Melvin W. Mansur  
Groton, Mass.

#### White House and welfare

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Your reporter Richard Strout deserves credit for calling attention in a recent article to the long-standing welfare mess — but he is well off the mark when he says that reporters have not been able to find out what HEW's welfare reform proposal is all about.

Newspapers all over the country have been "able to find out" and have been printing reams about the Income Supplement Plan, as it is called. I have been quoted at length by reporters enterprising enough to ask me questions about the plan.

Meanwhile, I think it important to point out to your readers that the Income Supplement Plan represents a proposal which the President had previously asked us to draft for his consideration. It would have been presumptuous were I to have directed an aggressive publicity buildup for this plan before the President had made his decision about it. But there has never been any difficulty for anyone who wanted to find out what our proposal is.

What the President decides to do about the Income Supplement Plan is, quite properly, up to him. At the moment it is in the White House and a presidential decision will be forthcoming.

Casper W. Weinberger  
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare  
Washington

#### Northern Ireland equation

To The Christian Science Monitor:

There was an omission in your correspondent's dispatch from Dublin on the efforts to keep alive the cease-fire in Northern Ireland. To write as though the Irish Republican Army and the British Government are the only factors in the Northern Ireland equation is misleading. The Protestant majority with their militant private armies are every bit as important.

The British Government took the risk of arousing Protestant opposition by continuing to talk to IRA representatives after the cease-fire was due to end. Sure enough a sharp protest has come from these so-called loyalists.

It should be remembered that the Protestant workers caused the breakdown last year of the power-sharing executive (on which both Protestants and Roman Catholics were represented) by their general strike, so they cannot be ignored.

To imply, as the article did, that Britain can defuse the situation by giving its seal of approval to gradual unification of North and South ignores the fact that any hint of this would cause an immediate explosion from the Protestant majority in the North — with unpredictable results.

Bristol, England Geoffrey P. Wade

#### Remembering Hoover

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Recent comment by Joseph Hirsch on the late President Hoover must puzzle older readers who recall his record as administrator of Belgian relief, food administrator at home, and rescuer of a shattered and starving Europe after World War I.

In his 12 years as Secretary of Commerce and President there was great progress for labor and in child welfare. Tonnage for the merchant marine was multiplied nearly seven times, with 30,000 jobs added. Navigation of inland waterways was extended to isolated industrial areas. Numerous dams were planned and construction started to increase water power, flood control, and irrigation; and the St. Lawrence River Seaway proposed. Famine in Russia in 1921-1922 required relief, and the Mississippi flood in 1927 required the evacuation of a million and a half people — both organized by Hoover.

While working to prevent a major bank panic in the depression he saved American investors \$1.7 billion by arranging a year's "standstill" on short-term paper, held by German and Austrian banks. By July, 1932, the depression was checked, and the dollar still intact. Walter Lippmann and others confirmed this.

A partisan Congress, determined to regain the White House, refused to pass needed reform bills. Banks closed, and mortgages were foreclosed, sending financially viable people to shantytowns. It was partisan politics, and not President Hoover, that put people in "Hoover-villes." The charge that he "did nothing" for the unemployed came after he left the White House, and served to cover congressional delinquency.

At the time, Mr. Hoover wrote, "What I have tried to do during these years for the American people has been to save them from disaster. They do not know what they have missed, and because they don't know what they have missed, they are dissatisfied with what has been done. In these circumstances they turn to other leaders."

Staten Island, N.Y. Senior American  
Letters expressing readers' views are welcome. Each receives editorial consideration though only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged. All are subject to condensation.

"Want to donate any old conquered territories for your salvation?"



### Point of view

#### Freebies: a right or a wrong?

By Roscoe Drummond

Washington  
Can you see any reason whatsoever why an arm of the government should try to prevent newspapers from being ethical?

Sounds fantastic, doesn't it? And can you see any reason whatsoever why the press should be restrained by the National Labor Relations Board from requiring that its staff receive gifts from news sources until the paper has won the approval of its reporters, secretaries, and office boys?

Sounds grotesque, doesn't it? This kind of thing is raising its eccentric head as a serious proposition.

The fact is that an NLRB judge has just ruled that a code of ethics drawn up by the editors of the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times is inoperative unless it has been agreed to through collective bargaining with its unionized employees.

You better believe it, because Judge Nancy Sherman isn't fooling in making this ruling, which now goes to the full board.

Her reason? Simple — even if the quality of good sense is strained to the breaking point, her reasoning is that free tickets, free travel, and other emoluments offered by news sources should be considered part of the reporters' wages and working conditions. Therefore, she holds, the ethics of refusing them cannot be practiced by the newspaper except through a collective bargaining contract.

Can you imagine the National Labor Relations Board asserting that a newspaper cannot practice an ethical standard at its own initiative even if some of its staff want to do otherwise?

Perhaps you can imagine such a thing, but it seems to me that government is in enough trouble re-earning the confidence of its constituents without proposing that newspapers should have imposed on them by government a compulsory standard of shoddy ethics.

I am not saying that some newspapers and other media have not ever tolerated, or even condoned, such practices. But that hardly justifies the NLRB making bad ethics negotiable; that is, compulsory if the union wants it that way.

It is not easy to legislate high ethical standards, but surely govern-

ment ought not to be on the side of imposing low ethical standards.

The National Conference of Editorial Writers and the National News Council, an independent body for monitoring the fairness and ethics of the media, are asking that syndicated columnists disclose to their syndicates and to their client papers any conflict of interest which could reasonably bear upon their credibility.

That's a good idea. That's being open with readers the way we ask government to be open with voters. I accepted. I hope my colleagues will accept.

There is need for this kind of candor. There have been several significant abuses by columnists. One TV commentator praised a farm program from which he was benefiting. Another, who earlier had negotiated a \$100,000 business loan from Nelson Rockefeller, wrote a column commending Rockefeller's generosity at the time of the confirmation hearings. Still another had her expenses to China paid by others.

These are the kind of improprieties which the National Labor Relations Board judge would force the media to accept — and do nothing about — unless its newspaper union agreed, thus giving the Newspaper Guild a veto over ethical standards.

The National News Council goes further than the National Conference of Editorial Writers in its wish to expose conflicts of interest in the press. It states: "It is the council's view that every journalist should either refrain from commenting upon matters in which he or she has a familial or a financial interest or make those interests so clear there can be no misunderstanding."

A beginning is being made. At the end of a Garry Willis column recently the Washington Star-News footnoted: "Willis is in Israel as a guest of the Israeli Government." But a policy of disclosing conflicts of interest should be inclusive, not limited to columnists. Newspapers themselves can have conflicts of interest which should not be concealed. All media and their editorial writers, commentators, and reporters should be governed by the same obligation of disclosure.

This would be applying the "right to know" to the press itself. And why not?

### Remember competition?

Commentary by Harry Reasoner on ABC News

The gist of a good deal of economic thought these days is that no matter what happens in Washington about the deep recession the country is basically strong enough so that things will get better. But the same consensus holds that things are never going to be quite as euphoric and expansive as they were, that Americans are going to have to get used to a new and less glittering version of the American dream.

There's a good example of what that means in the approval of a comprehensive switch of routes between Pan American and Trans World Airlines, with the aim of largely eliminating wasteful competition between them and cutting their horrendous losses on overseas flights.

I think it's the thing to do and it's admirable for the Civil Aeronautics

Board to act so promptly in a case that would normally take years.

But the wisdom of the decision doesn't change its effects which are melancholy. Not only the sometime wastefulness, but the frequent excellence of American industry is based on competition, and the chance to win great reward by competing is the basis for a kind of American effort that has probably produced more good than evil. No matter how good their intentions neither airline will be quite as much on their toes on a noncompetitive route. One man remembers the days when only Pan-Am flew the Pacific beyond Honolulu, the fleet mignon stopped at Hawaii, and from then on it was cheese sandwiches.

Well, maybe a few cheese sandwiches, in a lot of areas, will be good for the country. But it's pardonable to wistfully remember the fleet mignon.